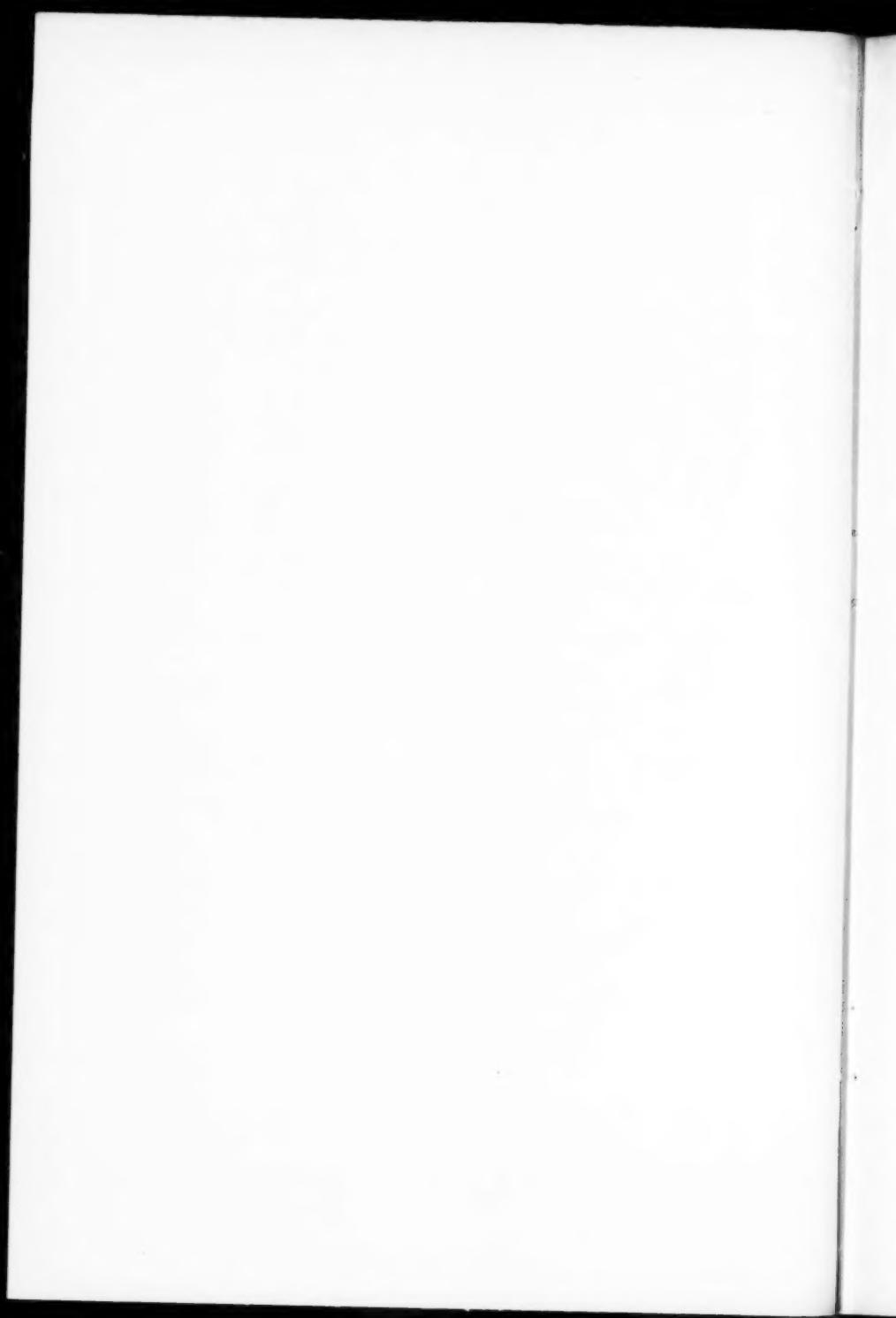


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## CLAIM ASSOCIATIONS AND PIONEER DEMOCRACY IN EARLY MINNESOTA<sup>1</sup>

Back of the glamour of public affairs the American people have had no more insistent and vital concern than that for land titles. Under normal circumstances the pioneer held to the accepted principles of property rights, but whenever new conditions — not of his own making — faced him, he did not hesitate to deviate from the law of the past. As the line of settlement moved rapidly westward the government fell behind in the process of stabilizing titles according to the accepted formula of Indian cession, survey, sale, and registration of deed. During the interval between actual settlement and governmental registration the question of land titles constantly agitated the minds of the frontiersmen.

While preëmption laws affecting different regions had already been passed, in 1841 the government gave general recognition to validity of the squatter's claim by passing a comprehensive preëmption bill. In spite of this, whenever there was no convenient machinery for determining who was the rightful preëmptor the land title remained unsettled. Since blazed trees, stakes, and such markers were the squatter's only record until his claim was filed, since he was often quite indifferent about registering his claim at all, and since his frequent absence for considerable periods of time invited claim-jumping, his title was never secure.

To meet this situation the pioneer devised the land claim association.<sup>2</sup> This was generally a formal organization having

<sup>1</sup> Read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul on January 9, 1928. *Ed.*

<sup>2</sup> While the topic of the land claim association has not been exhaustively treated, the significance of this organization has been recognized in a number of general treatments of the westward movement and land development. Frederick J. Turner and Frederick Merk, in their *List*

a constitution and by-laws and meeting with more or less regularity. In Iowa such associations seem to have been quite common; in Minnesota — less predominantly agricultural — they were apparently not so numerous. At least three existed along the Mississippi River — one at Brownsville in Houston County, and two near the present site of Winona at Wabasha Prairie and Rollingstone. Four were clustered about the Twin Cities — one at Mendota, one east of Fort Snelling within what are now the city limits of St. Paul, one practically in the heart of the present Minneapolis, and one near Lake Calhoun. There was an association in Nicollet County and one in Benton County. This list of nine associations may possibly be extended.

Although the fact and the form of the claim association may be readily ascertained from the relevant documents that have been preserved, the subtle processes that produced these associations must be reconstructed from scanty and widely scattered references of all kinds, nowhere more frequently discovered than in the current newspapers. Like the *obiter dicta* of a court's decision, these more or less incidental comments sometimes assume an importance quite equal to that of the formal pronouncements of an authoritative assembly.

In spite of the scarcity of materials it is possible even now to trace the development of the Military Reserve Claim Association with a fair degree of confidence. While the term "military reserve" refers properly to the Fort Snelling reservation as defined by the survey of 1839, including land north

of *References on the History of the West*, 72 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1922), cite a number of items under the heading "Squatters and Land Claims Associations." The Iowa associations have been studied quite thoroughly by Benjamin Shambaugh in two works, the *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*, 30-65 (Des Moines, 1902) and the *Constitution and Records of the Claim Association of Johnson County, Iowa* (Iowa City, 1894). Dr. Shambaugh has also written a general treatment of "Frontier Land Clubs or Claim Associations," which is published in the American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1900, vol. 1, p. 67-84.

of the Minnesota River to Nine Mile Creek and west to Lake Calhoun, the claim association was concerned with the part of the reserve that lay east of the Mississippi, extending about as far as Seven Corners in St. Paul and limited on the north by a line drawn directly west from Seven Corners to the river.

In order to get a proper perspective for the Military Reserve Claim Association we should go back to 1847, when the government surveys were extended into the section between the Mississippi and the St. Croix rivers, a region that had recently been ceded by the Indians to the government. The St. Paul squatters had about ninety acres of their settlement surveyed and went in the summer of 1848 to St. Croix Falls, where the land was to be offered for sale. Since they had visions of speculators who would outbid them, they asked Henry H. Sibley to bid in all the land for them. On the testimony of Sibley, as well as of others, the house was virtually packed by the settlers, and even if a speculator had got within speaking distance of the auctioneer he might have been knocked down by one of many ready clubs. If any speculators were present, they were most discreet.<sup>3</sup> There seems to have been no formal organization, and yet this was association strategy. Some of the men who were at St. Croix Falls employed the same strategy at a later time, but as members of an association.

In 1849 Governor Ramsey was authorized to negotiate for a cession of the Sioux lands. Soon the rumor was started that Fort Snelling would become insignificant or be removed entirely. In either case reserved lands would be offered for sale. Early in 1850 claims were staked out with shingles stuck in the snow. The next step was to call a meeting on March 2 at the Central House in St. Paul for the purpose of forming a claim association.<sup>4</sup> An interesting account of this meeting, "perhaps the largest meeting that has been held in St. Paul," is given in the *Minnesota Chronicle and Register* of March

<sup>3</sup> William W. Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 1: 225 (St. Paul, 1921).

<sup>4</sup> *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), February 20, 27, 1850.

9, 1850, in a communication signed "Caleb, 2d." It would appear that almost the entire body was opposed to the move on the ground, astonishing as it may seem, that it was being organized for the purpose of speculation. Although the bitterest opponents of this particular move were in favor of associations, there was no claim association formed at that meeting.

The Sioux cession of 1851 opened up lands for all who wanted them. John P. Owens, editor of the *Minnesotian*, who had opposed the formation of an association in 1850, early in 1852 began to plead for a confederation of associations, presumably to cover the whole southern part of the state.<sup>5</sup> The reduction of the military reservation followed the Sioux cession. Unfortunately no provision was made for pre-emption rights and the claim holders faced the possibility of being outbid when the land should be offered for sale. This fact and the availability of lands in the Sioux cession for all settlers removed most of the earlier objections to an association. As a natural consequence of this change, the Military Reserve Claim Association was formed on March 26, 1853. At first democratic enthusiasm created an elaborate constitution for the detailed control of claims and titles; soon democratic lethargy chilled the ardor of the entire association. A new constitution and new membership lists failed to bring about the realization of early hopes.<sup>6</sup>

Early in July, 1854, the presidential proclamation advertising the sale of Minnesota lands, including those of the reserve, aroused the dormant association. The members vigorously prepared to guard their rights at the sale scheduled for September 11, 1854, at Stillwater. They appealed for support to the sister associations of the reserve, as well as to the one at Brownsville. On July 14 the Minneapolis or Hennepin

<sup>5</sup> *Minnesotian* (St. Paul), January 24, 1852.

<sup>6</sup> The manuscript constitution and minutes of the Military Reserve Claim Association are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

County association met and pledged assistance to the Military Reserve association at the sale. The Calhoun and the Mendota groups had already promised help.<sup>7</sup> The plan adopted was to have members of the associations present at Stillwater *en masse* and to have at the sale a single bidder, William R. Marshall, representing the Military Reserve association. The plan worked. On Sunday, September 10, members of the Hennepin County Claim Association, numbering about two hundred and eighty persons, passed through St. Paul on their way to Stillwater. Members of the Military Reserve association were there as a matter of course. During the day enthusiasm was sustained by boisterous harangues punctuated with bugle calls and pistol shots. The peace of the night was disturbed by choice because of the excitement of the occasion, and by necessity because of the scarcity of sleeping quarters.<sup>8</sup>

The next morning members of the various associations represented, estimated at between two and four hundred, were ready for the sale. The Dakota and the Hennepin County associations were addressed by Henry H. Sibley and Isaac Atwater, both of whom gave encouragement to their plans.<sup>9</sup> Speculators were supposed to be there also, and no doubt were, for any non-association member who would have dared to offer a bid on land claimed by a member would have been called a speculator. The land — 4,504 acres — was sold without any disturbance and every member claimant secured a title to his property. The technique was practically identical with that employed in 1848 when Sibley bid in the St. Paul land. The settlers intrusted their claims to their official bidder. Even the drenching rain that poured down upon them as they stood in the street did not lessen their determination to carry out their plan. After the crowd had dispersed some clubs were seen in the street, although there was no outward sign of excitement at the sale. It was the general belief that these

<sup>7</sup> *St. Anthony Express*, July 15, 22, 1854.

<sup>8</sup> *Pioneer*, September 11, 1854; *Minnesotan*, September 13, 1854.

<sup>9</sup> *St. Anthony Express*, September 16, 1854.

clubs had been brought for a purpose. One bitter opponent of the speculator deplored the "great waste of timber."<sup>10</sup>

The only subsequent event calling for comment here was an investigation that followed the single complaint made by a man named Henderson, who seems not to have been an acquaintance of the association members and who was suspected by some of being a speculator.<sup>11</sup> The investigation revealed nothing officially startling. The claim association had been successful. Henceforth there was no need for such an association for the protection of titles.

The land of the Hennepin County association was to have been sold at Minneapolis on September 18, 1854, a week after the Stillwater sale. All hoped that the precedent established there would discourage speculators, but since maps and instructions did not arrive in time, no sale was held. The opening of the Minneapolis land office was deferred until October 9, 1854, and the sale did not occur until late in 1855.<sup>12</sup>

Notices of Hennepin County association activities seem not to be available after September, 1854. Four causes are discernible. First, reflection on violence as the possible outcome of the Stillwater procedure sobered the members. It may be that religious feeling also contributed toward the elimination of intimidation and force, as Dr. Folwell suggests.<sup>13</sup> Second, strenuous agitation in favor of preëmption rights finally secured the passage of a bill in 1855. Preëmption titles could henceforth be registered in a legal way. Third, the land office was more acceptable and more successful than the association as a board of arbitration for disputed cases. The *St. Anthony Express* referred repeatedly to the great number of cases being settled in this legal way, to the satisfaction of the landowners. Edward Murphy, himself a member of the executive commit-

<sup>10</sup> *Minnesotian*, September 13, 1854.

<sup>11</sup> *St. Anthony Express*, December 23, 1854.

<sup>12</sup> *St. Anthony Express*, September 23, October 14, 1854; November 3, 1855; *Minnesota Republican* (St. Anthony), October 25, 1855.

<sup>13</sup> *History of Minnesota*, 2: 431.

tee of the Hennepin County association at one time, submitted his dispute to the land office — the last of the military reserve contests to be decided. After the decision of the secretary of the interior at Washington, he was permitted to file his entry on December 4, 1856.<sup>14</sup> Fourth, Minneapolis was growing rapidly in 1854 and 1855. It could not grow if its land were to be held at a dollar and a quarter an acre. Speculation, as the farmer viewed it, was necessary.

These influences soon weakened the claim association and when the land was offered for sale late in October, 1855, the members who a year before had pledged each other protection were present without fear of what they called "speculation." In the issue of November 3, 1855, the *St. Anthony Express* reported that the sale was very quiet. It rejoiced at the high prices paid for unclaimed land — higher than any hitherto paid in that part of the country — but the editor seemed to remember his own fervid advocacy of concerted action on the part of the associations a year earlier, for he added that the lands "were of such a character, that they would not soon have been taken by actual settlers."<sup>15</sup>

From the foregoing statements it can be seen that claim associations arose out of concrete problems connected with the securing of land titles and ceased to exist when the titles were legally stabilized. This is presumably true of all of them, though local conditions were responsible for more or less significant variations.

The Wabasha Prairie Protection Club was formed on May 8, 1852, because as "Elder" Edward Ely recorded, "The sudden and unexpected arrival of so many strangers has alarmed the claimants here in regard to the safety of their claims."<sup>16</sup> While not unlike others in organization, this as-

<sup>14</sup> *St. Anthony Express*, December 6, 1856.

<sup>15</sup> See also *Minnesota Republican*, October 25, 1855.

<sup>16</sup> "Leaves from the Notes of an Old Settler," in *Winona Daily Republican*, May 8, 1867. A statement that these "Notes" are quoted from "Mr. Ely's Journal" is included in the introduction to the first installment, published in the *Republican* for May 4, 1867.

sociation differed from those located on the military reserve in its relationship to the community. Though organized to protect titles, it came to be a club in which group interests of varied types were discussed. For instance, the local post office was arranged for and the postmaster selected through the land club. Topics for discussion went far beyond the limits implied in the name of the organization. The claim association was practically expanded into a New England town meeting.

At Rollingstone a different tendency was manifested. There the Western Farm and Village Association tried in 1852 to develop a large colony around Minnesota City. According to Ely it had been organized "in the rooms of the Society in Grand street, New York."<sup>17</sup> Its colonization plans were primary. Owens visited the colony and classed it with the Wabasha Prairie Protection Club because of its work in guarding claim titles.<sup>18</sup> In fact, it had a special committee on claims. Ely tells of what he considered "almost the only serious difficulty that arose among the colony about claims." A young lady, Miss Amidon, made a claim on the South Rollingstone, about halfway between Minnesota City and Stockton. Later, she left and went east, placing her claim in the care of the association. In her absence a settler living near by decided that he preferred her claim. He moved over, cut logs, and prepared to build a cabin. The committee on claims visited him and pointed out that his action was in violation of the laws of the association. The claim-jumper would not yield, even though the committee offered to help him build the cabin on his original claim. One night an informal committee paid his log pile a visit, and in the morning he discovered that he had twice as many logs, but they were only one-half the original length. On the occasion of the next visit the regular committee had little difficulty in persuading him to move and in fulfillment of the original offer it helped him build on his

<sup>17</sup> *Winona Republican*, May 20, 1867.

<sup>18</sup> *Minnesotian*, June 12, 1852.

own claim a six-sided cabin made out of the short logs. This was standing fifteen years later, a rebuke to the cupidity of the trespasser and a monument to the diplomacy of the committee.<sup>19</sup>

One might gain the impression from the stated ideals and from the mutual aid sometimes rendered that the claim associations were free from the impulses of the speculator. It is really quite difficult, however, to separate the speculators from the pioneer settlers themselves. Speculation was probably the object of some who proposed the formation of the Military Reserve Claim Association in 1850. James M. Goodhue of the *Pioneer* was reported to have proposed the purchase of the land at a dollar and a quarter an acre and its sale at private sale prices at a later time. The profit was to be distributed to the members of the association. On account of restricted membership and control of sales such a scheme might readily be viewed as speculation. The Hennepin County association was not unaware of the advantages of controlled sales for making profits and took steps to secure them. "Recognizing the fact that with such abundant water power an industrial town would likely spring up, the settlers organized an association for self protection," according to one writer.<sup>20</sup> The sale of claimed land in October, 1855, at the regular price and of unclaimed land at higher prices suggests the approach of a "boom" in Minneapolis real estate.

Forces other than speculation were at work within to disrupt the ideal operations of the claim association. When unregulated by established law the assumption of power sometimes led to violence and discredited the motives of the originators. Even when violence was not present the associations were sometimes thought of as "part of the established common law of the west," and as designed to supersede the civil law

<sup>19</sup> *Winona Republican*, June 24, 1867.

<sup>20</sup> *Minnesota Chronicle and Register* (St. Paul), March 9, 1850; Frank C. Coolbaugh, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Minnesota, 1851 to 1861," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 15: 487.

because of its cumbersomeness.<sup>21</sup> The *Winona Argus* condemned land association tactics in the administration of justice on the ground that they were "unfit for a civilized community" and led to injustice.<sup>22</sup>

Perhaps in time of crisis the associations represented a fairly unified point of view, but one can read between the lines and discover that the real enemy was indifference to the program of joint action. This explains better than anything else the change that took place in the organization of the Military Reserve Claim Association. "Gross outrages . . . committed against the rights and property of worthy and peaceable citizens" spurred the Dakota County settlers in the late winter of 1855 to revive their association, which had been allowed to lapse through indifference.<sup>23</sup> A similar experience befell the Nicollet County association. "After its first meeting a want of interest in its proceedings, and confidence in its efficiency to afford the protection held out by its constitution . . . manifested itself among the members, and it soon fell into disrepute, and existed only in name."<sup>24</sup>

That these associations passed through so many vicissitudes is not really to be wondered at. They were characterized by the common traits of humanity. They were made up of human beings. They crumbled from internal weakness as well as from other causes. Elder Ely's ironical comments on claim making are worthy of inclusion here. "It's said 'there are tricks in every trade but ours' — Claim making was a peculiar science, and could only be learned by a residence in a claim country. First, when you measure a claim you must look out that there are 320 acres instead of 160, which the law allows. You must claim for yourself and some brother, father, cousin, or friend, that you expect will come soon, so

<sup>21</sup> *St. Peter's Courier*, April 26, 1855.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in the *St. Croix Union* (Stillwater), June 9, 1855.

<sup>23</sup> *Pioneer*, March 15, 1855.

<sup>24</sup> *St. Peter's Courier*, April 26, 1855.

as to be your neighbor. You must claim so that you can sell a claim and have one or more left." <sup>25</sup>

Out of such a background the claim association came, stayed but a short time, and disappeared. It left little imprint on our institutional life. In fact, it got its form from already existing institutions. As an exercise in democratic control it was often valuable in cultivating discipline. Judged by the standards of time and place, its excesses were probably not more evident than those of more regularly established organizations. It reflects in particular the pioneer's resourcefulness in meeting conditions for which there was no existing formula.

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<sup>25</sup> *Winona Republican*, June 11, 1867.

## THE HILL-LEWIS ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY

Nearly fifty-four thousand miles of travel and more than ten thousand of these on foot! This is the story of a vigorous young man with engineer's level, compass, and leather-bound notebook taking the field and working long seasons alone in quest of information of a most impractical sort. It is the story also of an older man who furnished the means to pursue steadily for fifteen years a quest whose objective was neither bread nor profit. To the wholly ideal task of gathering and preserving knowledge concerning the Indian mounds and other antiquities of the upper Mississippi Valley both men were willing and eager to devote the best of life.

This must be then, and is, a story from another age. For who can deny that even the latter part of the Victorian era is now extremely remote — to all indeed, except those who lived in it, something of a sealed book? To the writer, whose early memories still retain something of "livery rigs," small-town "Grand" and "Palace" hotels, where existence was just barely possible, and gangs of tramps who made living in the open inadvisable for a man working alone, the weeks spent in the summer of 1927 in studying the extensive records of the Northwestern Archeological Survey, now preserved in the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul, seemed like an excursion into another world.

Alfred James Hill was born in London, England, in 1823, came to America in 1854 and settled at Red Wing, Minnesota, and the next year removed to St. Paul, where he remained to the end of his life. He was trained as a civil engineer. In 1862 he enlisted in the Sixth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry and he served during most of the Civil War in the Corps of Topographical Engineers at Washington. After the war he followed his profession of engineering. Being a man of some



F. H. Lewis



Alfred J. Ollie



means, however, he devoted much of his time to studies in history and archeology, in which he had acquired an interest during his boyhood days in England. For a number of years he served as chairman of a committee of the Minnesota Historical Society on archeology, never spending much time in field surveys himself, but accumulating considerable information about Minnesota and neighboring states through correspondence and the use of questionnaires. His ambition was to find a man competent to make field surveys of the rapidly disappearing antiquities, to plot these on a generous scale with his own skilled hands, and thus to insure the permanent preservation of facts on the basis of which the archeology of the Northwest might sometime be studied and an account of it written. This ambition was fulfilled in 1881 and from that time until 1895, the year of his death, the Northwestern Archeological Survey, as Hill called his chief life interest, was carried on without interruption.<sup>1</sup>

Theodore Hayes Lewis was born in Richmond, Virginia, in 1856. He removed early to the Chillicothe region of Ohio, where he both went to school and taught school in the midst of great mound fields made famous by the archeological discoveries of Squier and Davis, and here he acquired his deep interest in archeology. He lived for a time in Arkansas, and for short periods in other southern states, always studying and surveying the local antiquities. About 1878 he removed to St. Paul. Here he devoted his spare time to surveys of the numerous and striking prehistoric mounds in and about this city. He met Hill in July, 1880, carried out several survey projects with him, and late in 1881 entered into a formal contract with

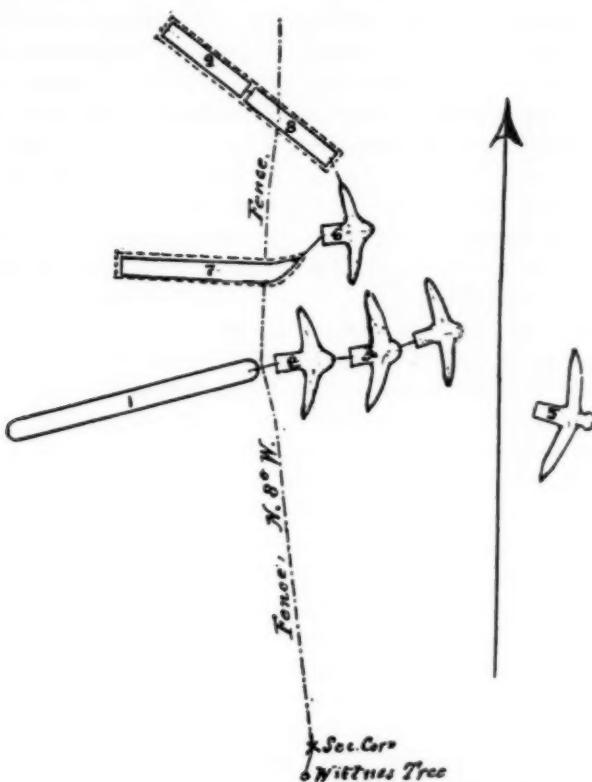
<sup>1</sup> A biographical sketch of Hill appears in Newton H. Winchell's *Aborigines of Minnesota*, vii-ix (St. Paul, 1911). Other brief accounts of Hill's career may be found in *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia and Register of Important Events*, 1895, p. 575; and in Albert N. Marquis, *The Book of Minnesotans, a Biographical Dictionary of Leading Living Men of the State of Minnesota*, 308 (Chicago, 1907); and an obituary sketch by J. V. Brower is to be found in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 514-517.

him to conduct the field work of the projected archeological survey. At the same time he moved his headquarters to the Hill home at 406 Maria Avenue, St. Paul, which became in the fifteen years that followed the center of the most extensive archeological activities ever privately initiated and supported on the American continent. After Hill's death, Lewis continued in St. Paul for several years as a partner in a publishing business. Apparently he left the city in 1905. The last information concerning him came from Ouray, Colorado, prior to 1911.<sup>2</sup>

The great extent of the archeological survey work accomplished by Lewis and Hill cannot be appreciated except through an extended examination of the large mass of manuscript material that has been preserved. This consists approximately of the following: forty leather-bound field notebooks well filled with the original entries of the survey; about a hundred plats of mound groups drawn on a scale of one foot to two thousand; about eight hundred plats of effigy mounds (animal-shaped mounds from Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois) on a scale of one foot to two hundred; about fifty plats of "forts" (largely village sites of the Mandan type) and other inclosures on a scale of one foot to four hundred; about a hundred large, folded tissue-paper sheets of original, full-size petroglyph rubbings with from one to six or more petroglyphs on each; about a thousand personal letters of Lewis to Hill; four bound "Mound Record" books made by Hill and in his handwriting; eight large, well-filled scrapbooks of clippings on archeological matters made by Lewis; numerous account books, vouchers, and other miscellany. When the writer went through these papers he was engaged in getting out the Iowa materials, and was unable to take time to make an exact count of all the items.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See the biographical sketch of Lewis in Winchell's *Aborigines of Minnesota*, ix; and an account in *Who's Who in America*, 1899-1900, p. 429.

<sup>3</sup> It should be explained that Professor Keyes made his examination in the interest of a preliminary Iowa archeological survey now being conducted by the State Historical Society of Iowa. *Ed.*



PRIOR LAKE MOUND GROUP, CONSISTING OF FIVE EFFIGIES OF BIRDS WITH WINGS SPREAD AND FOUR EMBANKMENTS

[Surveyed by Lewis, August 30, 1883. Winchell, *Aborigines of Minnesota*, 194.]

A single sheet of summary found among the miscellaneous papers of the survey, apparently made by Lewis, is eloquent in its significance. Tabulated by years and place of entry the mounds alone that were actually surveyed reach a grand total of over thirteen thousand — to be exact, 855 effigy mounds and 12,232 round mounds and linears. This is more than double the number covered by all three of the major surveys

that preceded the close of the work of Lewis and Hill.<sup>4</sup> All this mass of material, except for the part used by Newton H. Winchell in compiling *The Aborigines of Minnesota* and a few items used by Lewis in a number of brief published articles, remains unpublished, a mine of gold to anyone engaged in archeological research in the areas covered by the survey.<sup>5</sup>

The survey proper, as originally planned, included the eleven north central states in so far as they lay north of the great Cahokia mound opposite St. Louis, that is to say, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas, and Michigan; and also the province of Manitoba. Inasmuch, however, as Lewis was a Southerner and ill content to endure the long northern winters, he spent most of the winter months in the southern states, where his observations added much information concerning the antiquities of Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and southern Ohio. Thus the survey touches eighteen states and Manitoba. As the different areas were treated very unevenly, it is desirable to trace the general course of the actual surveys. It may be remarked that it is not altogether easy to explain the great fullness and detail of the work in certain widely separated areas and the total lack of data from other areas now considered equally rich. It should be remembered, of course, that the survey was interrupted by the death of Hill and was never considered by

<sup>4</sup> The published works on these earlier surveys are: E. G. Squier and E. H. Davis, *The Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley* (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. 1—Washington, 1848); Increase A. Lapham, "The Antiquities of Wisconsin," published as article 4 in volume 7 of the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge* (Washington, 1855); and Cyrus Thomas, "Report on the Mound Explorations of the Bureau of American Ethnology," published as an "Accompanying paper" in the *Bureau of American Ethnology, Twelfth Annual Report* (Washington, 1894).

<sup>5</sup> Winchell's volume has for its subtitle *A Report Based on the Collections of Jacob V. Brower, and on the Field Surveys and Notes of Alfred J. Hill and Theodore H. Lewis*. A list of the articles published by Lewis appears on page 576 of this work.

either of its sponsors to be anything but incomplete. And it is probable, again, that the availability of transportation had something to do with the geography of the survey as it now stands. Railroad passes, for example, were apparently procurable at times on certain routes and not at all available on others.

The survey is quite full for Minnesota, where work was done in all but three counties of the state, resulting in records of 7,773 mounds, besides a number of inclosures. Six mounds were surveyed in Manitoba. In the Dakotas the course of the Missouri River was followed for the most part, with surveys of over five hundred mounds in each state, besides some "forts" and inclosures. Following the Missouri southward, much information was gathered from the river counties of Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, and Missouri. In Wisconsin the survey touched more than two-thirds of all the counties, mostly in the field of the effigy mounds in the southern half of the state, where the records supply detail for no less than 748 effigies and 2,837 other mounds. In Illinois the principal work was done in the northern part of the state within sixty miles of the Wisconsin line, though explorations were also made along the Rock and Fox rivers, and along the Illinois River from Joliet to the Mississippi, thirteen effigy mounds being recorded besides thirty-seven round and linear mounds and a few other antiquities. Iowa was explored most fully in the northeastern counties as far south as Dubuque, yielding data on 61 effigy mounds, 553 other mounds, and several inclosures. A little work was done in a few of the northern counties of Indiana. Surveys in Michigan were largely confined to some circular inclosures in Ogemaw County. It is seen thus that the survey yielded its richest results in Minnesota, the eastern parts of the Dakotas, northeastern Iowa, and the southern half of Wisconsin.

Some three years after the death of Hill a sixteen-page pamphlet on the survey was published by Lewis.<sup>6</sup> In it he

<sup>6</sup> *The Northwestern Archaeological Survey* (St. Paul, 1898).

briefly tells of the inception of the project, of his relations with Hill, of the territory covered by the surveys, and of its cost, condition, and deficiencies. A number of interesting side lights are gained from this account that are not reflected in the manuscripts themselves. It appears, for example, that it was Hill's intention to provide by will funds for the continuance of the survey. This will disappeared, so Lewis relates, or at least was not found, a fact that caused the junior maker of the survey some bitterness and engendered in him a belief that the ultimate fate of the material, then adjudged to be the property of certain heirs, would be a resting place in some provincial English museum or some quiet English attic. Fortunately for Mississippi Valley archeology this unhappy fate never became a reality. J. V. Brower, a member of the council of the Minnesota Historical Society and himself a writer of importance in the field of north central history and archeology, shortly before his death in 1905 led a successful movement to convince the legislature of Minnesota of the value of the survey and the desirability of its purchase as a part of the state's historical collections. The purchase was made and the survey was saved, at a cost of \$3,900, to the state that saw its inception. Lewis, apparently with a prophetic vision of the curiosity of a later generation, tells very definitely that its cost to its financial sponsor, Alfred J. Hill, was \$16,200.<sup>7</sup> Throughout the years of the survey Lewis received three dollars a day for the days actually spent in the field. Various expenses make up the balance. Here again we find ourselves in another world. It is necessary to recall, or to rediscover, the years from 1881 to 1895.

What now of the strength and deficiencies of the survey as an archeologist of today would evaluate it? One shortcoming of the work is mentioned by Lewis himself in the pamphlet noted above.<sup>8</sup> As it was Hill's plan to have Lewis write up

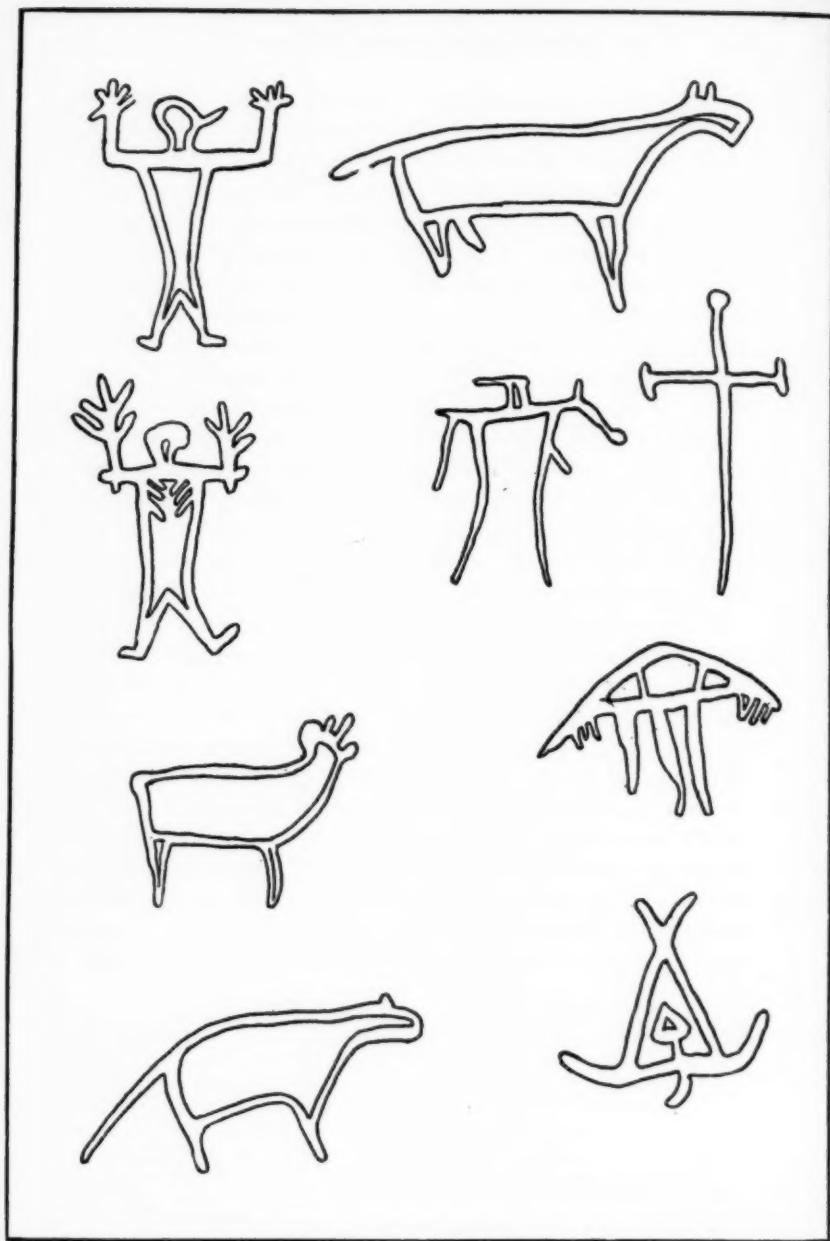
<sup>7</sup> *The Northwestern Archaeological Survey*, 7.

<sup>8</sup> In a section entitled "In What the Survey is Deficient," in *The Northwestern Archaeological Survey*, 9.

the text of the completed survey, the latter did not take very full notes on the topographic and other bearings of the various mound groups, apparently leaving the local settings to be filled in from memory. The recovery of these bearings would now necessitate, of course, a large amount of travel.

Another deficiency of the survey originates in a belief shared by both men, but now generally discredited, that the builders of the mounds were a vanished people entirely different from the Indians. This was the common belief of their time, of course, but it had the usual result of leading to an overemphasis upon mound survey as compared with surveys of other antiquities quite as important. Thus there was no systematic effort to locate the old village sites and collect from their abundant refuse the criteria, the pottery fragments especially, that would now be regarded as of primary importance. Indeed, there is nothing in the survey to show that Lewis had any interest in fragmentary relics of any kind, and his letters show that his interest even in the perfect relics collected from the village sites and shell heaps was rather moderate. These relics were not regarded by either man as a part of the survey, but as the private property of Lewis.<sup>9</sup> It probably should be said, however, in connection with this matter of neglect of certain lines of inquiry, that ancient village sites, important as their phenomena are, are less exposed to destruction than the mounds, whose outlines are seriously damaged by the agricultural operations of a single season. The secrets hidden away in a village site lie mostly below the plow line, but a mound once cultivated cannot be perfectly restored. Perhaps, then, after all, it was not wholly unfortunate that the Lewis

<sup>9</sup> An effort to locate some thousand perfect relics which Lewis says he collected resulted in finding four cases of specimens labeled "T. H. Lewis Collection" in the basement of the science hall of Macalester College in St. Paul. This collection consists largely of southern material and is not notable. One case of Minnesota specimens collected by Lewis was sold by him to the Reverend E. C. Mitchell of St. Paul and was included among the archeological accumulations presented by the latter to the Minnesota Historical Society in 1905.



PICTOGRAPHS FROM DAYTON'S BLUFF, ST. PAUL  
[Winchell, *Aborigines of Minnesota*, 566.]

and Hill survey devoted almost its entire energies to mounds and earth-walled inclosures.

The strength of the survey consists, first of all, in the dependability of Lewis as a gatherer of facts. While he cherished the belief that he was working with the monuments of an extinct race of mound builders, he was worried by no other theories, he knew mounds when he saw them, and he worked as a realist, measuring and recording what he saw with painstaking accuracy and unwearying devotion. It has been the writer's privilege to check over in the field some of the work of Lewis and up to this time no serious error has been found. And the fact that these surveys were made at a time when a large number of mound groups that have since disappeared, or all but disappeared, were still intact, gives the work of Lewis and Hill an incalculable worth. What unique value, too, attaches to those numerous sheets of rubbings of rock-hewn pictographs from the caves and fissures of the Mississippi cliffs, the originals of which have been almost wholly obliterated now by the vandalism of a later time! So far as Iowa is concerned, something like half of the antiquities of the northeastern part of the state are recoverable only from the manuscripts of the Northwestern Archeological Survey.

The work of Lewis also possesses much value in the many incidental references to antiquities not considered worthy of a formal survey or interpreted as merely the remains of modern Indian activities. These references are particularly numerous in the letters, which were not regarded as a part of the survey material at all; and other observations of great interest are sometimes entered in the field notebooks, usually set off in some way from the regular mound survey data on which the later plats were drawn. As shown by one of the field books, for example, Lewis visited on May 4, 1892, the "prairie," or terrace, on which stood the village of Harper's Ferry in Allamakee County, Iowa. This area is rather level and extends along one of the secondary channels of the Mississippi for about three miles, with a width between the river

and the bluffs of from half a mile to a mile. He found nearly all of the terrace under cultivation and made an actual survey of only five mounds, four bear effigies and one conical mound. He did, however, make a count of mounds still discernible and he entered his count in a penciled note: "This group consisted of 107 tailless animal[s] [*probably bear mounds*], 67 birds, 98 embankments that were probably animals, 154 embankments [*linear mounds*] and 240 round mounds the largest of which is now about 6 feet high. Total number of effigies in sight including 4 surveyed, 276. Total number of mounds including surveyed, 671. Add 229 small round mounds (estimated) that have been destroyed by cultivation makes a total of 900 mounds of all classes."<sup>10</sup> This note may be the record of the largest mound group ever erected by the prehistoric inhabitants of America. On August 20, 1927, the writer walked over the entire extent of this terrace and was able to count only eighteen mounds, a few even of these rather doubtful. The soil of the terrace is quite sandy, and once deprived of their covering of vegetation and put under the plow the mounds disappear in a few years. Another quotation, this time from a letter written at Center City, Minnesota, on November 13, 1885, is also of the kind to make a student of archeology rejoice: "This afternoon was on 'Bone Island.' It has been an old camp ground. There are bones of Deer, Beaver & other animals, also buffalo teeth, broken pottery (made of clay & stone also clay and sand), chert & quartz chips & stone implements (broken)." No student who seriously seeks information can afford to neglect the field books and the letters, for they contain too many observations of the kind just quoted.

Finally, the survey contains, first and last, a great story of human adventure and exploration in many of the broad reaches of the Mississippi Valley. This story is told for the most part, of course, in the letters. If one desires a clear-cut and

<sup>10</sup> Northwestern Archeological Survey, Field Books, 32: 13.

unembellished characterization of the wretched small-town hotels and boarding houses of the eighties, he need look no farther than the Lewis correspondence. "There is only one at Clayton [Iowa]," he writes on May 27, 1885, "kept by a Swiss and as dirty and filthy as a hog pen." It is not always, however, the bad accommodations that arouse the ire of the traveler, nor is it always the smallest town that furnishes all the grief, for in a letter of May 18, 1884, dated at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, there is a flat statement that "These men who run hotels & B houses are dumb hogs." If one desires to recall the keen political animosities of the time, he need only read the letter of December 22, 1887, written from New Madrid, Missouri, in a non-presidential year: "Things here are red hot — Democratic. Have only had to fights since I came here and paid \$5.00 fine, but I think I am solid now, for they would rather fight some one who will not fight back. . . . If it is going to remain frozen I cannot do anything in the way of digging, and if there is as much hell in every town as there is in SE Mo I want to get back north as soon as possible." One must recollect that Lewis was himself a Southerner and therefore an unprejudiced witness. If one would learn something of the atmosphere and conditions out of which free silver emerged or Coxey's army was recruited, the letters of the early nineties will supply much material. He writes from South Bend, Indiana, on August 13, 1893: "I have come within an ace of being held up several times. Yesterday we were surrounded at one time by a number of tramps but a small rifle and a seven shooter held them off. If things keeps on in the same line I will be compelled to carry a revolver for self protection. I do not like to carry any thing of the kind." Evidently things did keep on, for the attempt to work by boat the Mississippi shores of Missouri, lower Illinois, Kentucky, and Tennessee during the summer and fall of 1894 proved unprofitable as well as dangerous. What was saved in transportation was spent in hiring some one to guard the

boat at night. A final quotation from a letter written on November 11, 1894, at Columbus, Kentucky, may serve to give the flavor of much of the correspondence of the last years of the survey: "At the present time in free America there are sections of the route that are more dangerous now to pass over than they were in Soto's time, and it will take some one with tact and skill as well as courage to tackle these sections. Along the Mississippi the 'river rats' and tramps make the route dangerous. Along the upper Tennessee the 'moonshiners' are the curse to the country." To dangers from rough characters there were added before the month closed some trying experiences in two gales on the Mississippi. In his small boat Lewis barely managed to weather them out, being closer, as he says, "to the 'kingdom to come'" than he ever cared to risk again.

On the whole, however, the records of the Northwestern Archeological Survey naturally tell a story of hard and serious work, begun early in the spring of each year and continued until the snow and cold of winter forced the surveyor to seek shelter within doors or in the gentler climate of his sunny South. But with the coming of another working season, he shouldered his level and once more began to read accurately his compass indications and to record the results of measurements in his leather-bound notebook. The great fifteen-year effort, initiated and sustained by two serious-minded bachelors who lived in St. Paul, remains unique in the history of North American archeology. And was this effort, after all, of so very impractical a sort? As time goes on does it not become more and more clear that the antiquities of abiding worth and interest do not all center about the Nile and the Euphrates?

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## SOME GAPS IN THE HISTORY OF THE NORTHWEST<sup>1</sup>

In the hope of stimulating study of the Northwest as a regional unit, a group of men who have a considerable share in the direction of research at the University of Minnesota in the spring of 1927 arranged for a preliminary bibliographical survey. The object was to bring together in a single file a note upon each piece of writing, published or unpublished, dealing with the Northwest. The data collected on each work consisted of the name of the author, the title of the work, and other usual bibliographical information, with an accurate note telling where the work may be found and giving an estimate of its value. Graduate students were assigned to the task of collecting the required data, each being instructed to examine works that by subject matter belong to a certain general field. The writer investigated the literature concerning this region in the general fields of history and government, and the conclusions and opinions set forth in the following pages are based upon that work. The bibliography may now be examined in the office of the bureau for research in government of the University of Minnesota.

The "Northwest," as the term is used in this survey, is understood to include all of the states of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota, and the state of Montana or at least that part of it which lies east of the Rocky Mountains. Those who are convinced that the Northwest constitutes a fairly definite region marked off by economic facts and interests would include also the northern fringe of Iowa, part of northern Wisconsin, and, perhaps, the northern peninsula of Michigan. It goes without saying that the consideration of the historical literature of an area so vast and so full of in-

<sup>1</sup> Read at the seventy-ninth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul on January 9, 1928. *Ed.*

terest to the historian is a task of considerable magnitude. It seems justifiable, therefore, to disregard wholly the source material that is available and limit consideration to works that are monographic, or at least secondary, in character. Furthermore, it is presumed that the attitude of the scientific historian is exhibited throughout.

It is one thing to collect the titles of historical works concerning a certain state, a group of states, or a nation; it is quite another to point out what titles should be added in order to block out a complete treatment of the history of that area. Both operations are necessary if historical scholarship is to proceed rapidly and with a minimum of wasted effort. The first operation has always been regarded as one of the more menial tasks of historical craftsmanship, while the second has been eschewed by all save a few of the most daring among professed historians.<sup>2</sup> Attempts to point out unworked fields for historical research and possible titles for monographs may, however, become more common in the near future. The "new history" point of view has brought with it the conviction that the writing of history is a coöperative task, necessitating division of labor and careful planning. It would be an exceedingly profitable service to historical scholarship in the Northwest, therefore, if the present writer, after having made a survey of what has been written of the history of the region, could go on to say exactly what further should be written. To perform such a service with finality would, however, be the task of a lifetime of study, and would tax the most mature of historical minds. Only tentative suggestions, with no pretensions to exhaustiveness, can now be made.

The first and most obvious observation that can be made upon existing historical writings on the Northwest is to call

<sup>2</sup> Among the few surveys of this type are Frank H. Garver, "Montana as a Field for Historical Research," and William J. Trimble, "The Agrarian History of the United States as a Subject for Research," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings*, 7:99-112; 8:81-90 (1913-14, 1914-15).

attention to the almost total absence of works dealing with the region as a whole. The only such work of importance is Mildred L. Hartsough's doctoral dissertation on the Twin Cities as a metropolitan center, which undertakes to trace the rise of the Twin Cities to their present position of dominance over the economic life of the region.<sup>3</sup> Inevitably the emphasis is upon the economic center rather than upon the vast producing and consuming area that makes possible the existence of the large cities. But if there is any validity in the contention that four northwestern states are knit together by economic facts and interests into a region having an identity and problems of its own, its history ought to be written. Such a history cannot be written in a short time, and it will not be the work of one scholar. Many must unite in tracing the stages of the interdependence of its component parts, examining the factors that explain how and why that interdependence arose and why it persisted. So far, those who have written on the history of the Northwest have dealt with the individual states or with the upper valley of one of the two great river systems that cut across the historical interest as well as the topography of the area. Any discussion, therefore, of the historical literature of the Northwest must proceed in terms of states and river valleys, and, even if the history of the region is ultimately to be written, smaller subdivisions are both necessary and convenient.

Minnesota is the only state of the Northwest possessing an adequate general history — the work of William W. Folwell.<sup>4</sup> For North Dakota, the most reliable work is Clement A.

<sup>3</sup> *The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market: A Regional Study of the Economic Development of Minneapolis and St. Paul* (University of Minnesota, *Studies in the Social Sciences*, no. 18 — 1925) — reviewed *ante*, 7: 168. See also Norman S. B. Gras, "The Significance of the Twin Cities for Minnesota History," *ante*, 7: 3-17 (March, 1926).

<sup>4</sup> Three volumes of his *History of Minnesota*, published by the Minnesota Historical Society, have appeared (St. Paul, 1921-26). They are reviewed *ante*, 4: 152-157; 5: 596-599; and 8: 78-80. The fourth and last volume of the work is now in preparation.

Lounsherry's history, which is better than its two companion volumes of laudatory biographies would indicate.<sup>6</sup> South Dakota has only distinctly inferior histories of the biographical type, unless it is assumed that the earnest seeker can piece out the history of the state from the alphabetical topics in Doane Robinson's *Encyclopedia of South Dakota*.<sup>7</sup> In many ways the best history of Montana is Father Laurence B. Palladino's *Indian and White in the Northwest*, although it was not planned as a general history and brings the story only to 1891.<sup>8</sup> For the same period, Hubert H. Bancroft's "History of Montana" is still of value.<sup>9</sup> For a general treatment of the history of Montana since its admission into the Union, the student can refer only to one or two magazine articles and histories of the biographical type.<sup>10</sup> All the states of the Northwest have textbooks of state history designed for use in the elementary schools.<sup>11</sup>

The Northwest is a peculiarly rich field for archeological and ethnological research, largely because of the displacement and extinction of its Indian tribes. The extinction of such an interesting people as the Mandans of North Dakota in the

<sup>6</sup> *North Dakota History and People* (Chicago, 1917. 3 vols.). The first volume of this work, somewhat revised, has been published also under the title *Early History of North Dakota* (Washington, D. C., 1919).

<sup>7</sup> Published at Pierre, South Dakota, in 1925.

<sup>8</sup> This book has as its subtitle *A History of Catholicity in Montana, 1831-1891* (second edition, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1922).

<sup>9</sup> In his *History of the Pacific States of North America*, 26: 589-808 (San Francisco, 1890).

<sup>10</sup> These include J. H. Crooker, "Montana—the Treasure State," in the *New England Magazine*, 21: 741-759 (new series—February, 1900); O. W. Freeman, "Montana, a Study of the Geographic Factors Influencing the State," in *Philadelphia Geographic Society, Bulletins*, 12: 129-165 (March, 1914); and Tom Stout, *Montana, Its Story and Biography* (Chicago and New York, 1921. 3 vols.).

<sup>11</sup> The best of these are Solon J. Buck and Elizabeth H. Buck, *Stories of Early Minnesota* (New York, 1925) — reviewed *ante*, 7: 70-72; Hester M. Pollock, *Our Minnesota* (New York, 1917) — reviewed *ante*, 2: 90-92; and Kate H. Fogarty, *The Story of Montana* (New York and Chicago, 1916).

third decade of the last century, for example, is an incident of great interest, and one that has not been made the subject of a monograph. A comprehensive survey of Indian antiquities has been attempted for no state of the region under consideration except Minnesota.<sup>11</sup> There is a very considerable gap, therefore, at the very beginning.

No period of northwestern history has received greater attention, nor is any the subject of more writings, than that of discovery and exploration. There is, however, a decided absence of comprehensive treatises on exploration; no work on the Dakotas and Montana is comparable to the chapters on exploration in the first volume of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota*. Such a survey of explorations should take account of military expeditions, many of which penetrated into the Northwest before the period of permanent settlement. An allied subject is that of military forts in the Northwest. There are monographs and articles on particular forts, such as Snelling and Abercrombie,<sup>12</sup> but no single work essays an estimate of the part played in history by all the forts of the Northwest; and but one treatise upon any group of forts, such as the series built across North Dakota to protect emigrants to the Montana gold fields, has been written.<sup>13</sup>

In a bibliography of the history of the Northwest the writings on the fur trade comprise a very considerable section. A quarter of a century ago the history of the fur trade of the whole West was handled in an able manner by Hiram M. Chittenden.<sup>14</sup> Even if that work could ever have been considered conclusive, it has since been rendered obsolete by the

<sup>11</sup> See Newton H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1911).

<sup>12</sup> Marcus L. Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1918) — reviewed *ante*, 2: 569; *Fort Abercrombie, 1857-1877* (*North Dakota Historical Collections*, vol. 2, part 2 — 1908).

<sup>13</sup> Dan E. Clark, "Early Forts on the Upper Mississippi," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings*, 4: 91-101 (1910-11).

<sup>14</sup> *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1902. 3 vols.).

appearance of a great amount of new material.<sup>16</sup> In recent years a number of trained scholars have turned to the study of the fur trade, attracted by its exceptional opportunities for research. There is as yet, however, but one general history of the fur trade in the Northwest, and that covers only the years from 1763 to 1800.<sup>17</sup>

Writing the history of the settlement of a state or region is a task that seems to repel investigators because of its great complexity. Two Iowa scholars have published monographs that do much in this respect for Minnesota,<sup>17</sup> but there is not even an introduction to the study of this subject for the Da-

<sup>16</sup> A number of journals kept by individual fur-traders have been published, and a survey of the papers of one trading company, by Grace L. Nute, is to be found in an article entitled "The Papers of the American Fur Company: A Brief Estimate of Their Significance," in the *American Historical Review*, 32: 519-538 (April, 1927).

<sup>17</sup> Wayne E. Stevens, *The Northwest Fur Trade, 1763-1800* (University of Illinois, *Studies in the Social Sciences*, vol. 14, no. 3—1926) — reviewed *post*, p. 148-152. Among the more specialized studies of the fur trade published within recent years are Gordon C. Davidson, *The North West Company* (University of California, *Publications in History*, vol. 7—1918) — reviewed *ante*, 3: 296-298; Grace L. Nute, "The American Fur Company's Fishing Enterprises on Lake Superior," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 12: 483-503 (March, 1926); Marjorie G. Reid, "The Quebec Fur-traders and Western Policy, 1763-1774," in the *Canadian Historical Review*, 6: 15-32 (March, 1925); Wayne E. Stevens, "Fur Trading Companies in the Northwest, 1760-1816," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings*, 9: 283-291 (1915-18), and "The Organization of the British Fur Trade, 1760-1800," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 3: 172-202 (September, 1916); Katherine Coman, "Government Factories; An Attempt to Control Competition in the Fur Trade," in the *American Economic Association, Papers and Discussions of the Twenty-third Annual Meeting*, 1910, p. 368-388 (*Bulletins*, series 4, vol. 1, no. 2); and several articles published in *MINNESOTA HISTORY*.

<sup>17</sup> Dan E. Clark, "The Westward Movement in the Upper Mississippi Valley during the Fifties," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings*, 7: 212-219 (1913-14); Cardinal Goodwin, "The Movement of American Settlers into Wisconsin and Minnesota," in *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 17: 406-428 (July, 1919). A master's thesis on the subject of "Railroads and the Settlement of Minnesota, 1860-1880" was submitted at the University of Minnesota in 1927 by Harold F. Peterson; the Minnesota Historical Society has a copy.

kotas and Montana. Such a study would deal especially with the movement of population into the region, its character and sources, and the growth of communities. The whole history of the settlement of the Northwest, especially of that part of the region lying west of Minnesota, is practically an un-worked field for research.

Some miscellaneous subjects in the general history of the Northwest that have received inadequate attention may be enumerated before proceeding to the discussion of matters that pertain to political and economic history: the boundaries of Minnesota, North Dakota, and Montana; the state capital and capitol buildings of North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana; public opinion in Montana during the Civil War; North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana in the Spanish-American and the World wars; the national guard in Minnesota, North Dakota, and Montana; newspapers and journalism; the pioneer newspaper; and place names in North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana.

The history of the Northwest presents examples of all the forms of early extralegal organizations for government so characteristic of the frontier. The best-known of such organizations are the Montana miners' vigilance committees, which are only less famous than the similar organizations of 1849 and 1850 in California. The Montana vigilantes have been made the subject of many writings, but they have never received sober investigation at the hands of a student thoroughly trained in history and government.<sup>18</sup> Vigilance activities were characteristic of the stockmen's frontier as well as of the mining frontier. In a cattle country, however, they were usually a function of the cattlemen's or stockmen's associations that were common in eastern Montana and the western part of the Dakotas during the free range period. A single sketch, de-

<sup>18</sup> Among the best-known books on the subject are Thomas J. Dimsdale, *The Vigilantes of Montana, or, Popular Justice in the Rocky Mountains* (Virginia City, Montana, 1866); and Nathaniel P. Langford, *Vigilante Days and Ways; the Pioneers of the Rockies* (Boston, 1890. 2 vols.).

scribing one of these associations, constitutes the literature on the subject.<sup>19</sup> The form of extralegal frontier government characteristic of Minnesota was the land claim association, a subject certainly worthy of a monograph.<sup>20</sup> The spontaneous organization of the Territory of Dakota in the valley of the Big Sioux River in 1859 is one of the two best instances of frontier activity of this type in history. The other was that of the State of Franklin, organized in eastern Tennessee in 1784, a subject that has received detailed study and has long been an object of interest to historians of the West. The organization of 1859 is worthy of more careful treatment than is given it in the reminiscent account that constitutes the literature on the subject.<sup>21</sup>

A survey of existing writings that recount the beginnings of actual legal government in the Northwest reveals that the following remain to be made the subjects of separate writings: the organization and development of the territories of Dakota and Montana, the admission of North Dakota and Montana into the Union, and the constitutional conventions of South Dakota and Montana. It may also be stated that no annotated texts of the constitutions of North Dakota and Montana have appeared.

Practically the whole field of the history of public finance in the region is in need of investigation. Such monographs as exist are without exception out-of-date, poorly executed, or prejudiced. There is, in the first place, no financial history for any one of the states of the region. Other subjects that

<sup>19</sup> "Vigilantes in North Dakota," in *North Dakota Historical Collections*, 6: 58-61 (Fargo, 1913). The activities of the cattlemen's associations are covered in Osgood's thesis on "The Northern Cattle Country," cited *post*, n. 30.

<sup>20</sup> When this paper was written, the writer was unaware that Dr. Ritchey had prepared the study of the topic in this issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY.

<sup>21</sup> Samuel C. Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (Johnson City, Tennessee, 1924); Samuel J. Albright, "The First Organized Government of Dakota," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 129-147 (1898).

require treatment for each of the states are taxation of corporations, taxation of mines, taxation of intangible property, and methods of assessment.

The history of the Republican party in Minnesota, at least up to the end of the nineteenth century, has been quite completely written.<sup>22</sup> Similar work for the other states as well as the complete history of the Democratic party, especially in Montana, remains to be done. A good deal of research, also, is needed on third-party movements. A doctoral dissertation by E. A. Moore, now in preparation at the University of Chicago, together with monographs by John D. Hicks on the Farmers' Alliance and the People's party, should cover the earlier field for Minnesota.<sup>23</sup> Similar work should be done for the other states. The Nonpartisan League, while it is the subject of an extensive literature, has not yet received all the study it deserves. There are no published accounts, aside from general ones, of the league in Minnesota, South Dakota, and Montana.<sup>24</sup> The economic and social problems connected with its activities in North Dakota have been rather completely studied.<sup>25</sup> Its more strictly political aspects, however, remain for investigation.

<sup>22</sup> A master's thesis on "The Rise of the Republican Party in Minnesota" was prepared by George Hendricks at the University of Minnesota in 1922; the Minnesota Historical Society has a copy. See also Eugene V. Smalley, *A History of the Republican Party from Its Organization to the Present Time* (St. Paul, 1896).

<sup>23</sup> The title of Moore's thesis is "Third Party Movements and the Economic Backgrounds in Minnesota Since 1858." Hicks's articles on "The Origin and Early History of the Farmers' Alliance in Minnesota" and "The People's Party in Minnesota" appear in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 9: 203-226 (December, 1922), and *ante*, 5: 531-560 (November, 1924).

<sup>24</sup> A master's thesis that includes a short account of the league in Minnesota is Robert Kingsley, "Recent Variations from the Two-party System as Evidenced by the Nonpartisan League and the Agricultural Bloc," submitted at the University of Minnesota in 1923.

<sup>25</sup> By Paul R. Fossum in his *Agrarian Movement in North Dakota* (Johns Hopkins University, *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, series 43, no. 1 — 1925) — reviewed *ante*, 6: 382-384.

Other subjects in the political history of the Northwest that have been studied not at all or inadequately may be enumerated: administrative reorganization in the states; the budget system in the Dakotas and Montana; the supreme court in each of the states; presidential, Congressional, and other elections; the election laws of North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana; woman suffrage in North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana; the formation of counties in Minnesota, South Dakota, and Montana; law codes; and the initiative, referendum, and recall.

A great deal of research remains to be done in the history of agriculture in the Northwest. As a preliminary, a thorough study should be made of the history of public lands and speculation in their sale. There is no history of agriculture for any one of the states except Minnesota.<sup>26</sup> The history of agriculture in the Red River Valley is, however, well written for the period up to about 1905.<sup>27</sup> Many monographs and articles deal with special periods in the history of agriculture,<sup>28</sup> others treat of special phases of that history,<sup>29</sup> while still others

<sup>26</sup> See Edward V. Robinson, *Early Economic Conditions and the Development of Agriculture in Minnesota* (University of Minnesota, *Studies in the Social Sciences*, no. 3—1915) — reviewed *ante*, 1: 277.

<sup>27</sup> The works on this subject are John L. Coulter, "Industrial History of the Valley of the Red River of the North," in the *North Dakota Historical Collections*, 3: 529-568 (1910); and George N. Lamphere, "History of Wheat Raising in the Red River Valley," in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 1-33 (part 1—1905).

<sup>28</sup> Among these may be mentioned Frank E. Balmer, "The Farmer and Minnesota History," *ante*, 7: 199-217 (September, 1926); John L. Coulter, "The Wheat Crisis," in the University of North Dakota, *Quarterly Journal*, 14: 3-26 (November, 1923); Julian Ralph, "The Dakotas," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 84: 895-908 (May, 1892); T. T. Vernon Smith, "Our New Wheatfields in the Northwest," in the *Contemporary Review*, 6: 10-22 (July, 1879); Harrison A. Trexler, *Flour and Wheat in the Montana Gold Camps, 1862-70* (Missoula, Montana, 1918); and M. L. Wilson, "The Evolution of Montana Agriculture in Its Early Period," in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, 9: 429-440 (1915-18).

<sup>29</sup> For example, Henrietta M. Larson, *The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota, 1858-1900* (Columbia University, *Studies in History*,

deal with subindustries,<sup>30</sup> or are general in character.<sup>31</sup> Taken all together the works that have been written on the history of agriculture do not cover the entire field. At least the following subjects remain for investigation: pioneer agriculture in South Dakota, dairying in the Northwest, dry farming in the Northwest, and farmers' coöperative stores.

The history of banking in the Northwest has not yet been written adequately. There is no satisfactory history of banking for any one of the Northwest states, although one for North Dakota is reported in progress as a doctoral dissertation.<sup>32</sup> In addition, the Northwest offers opportunity for two studies in pioneer banking, namely, the banking activities of fur companies, and methods of banking in pioneer mining camps.<sup>33</sup>

*Economics and Public Law*, vol. 122, no. 2—1926) — reviewed *ante*, 8: 181–183; Louis B. Schmidt, "The Westward Movement of the Wheat Growing Industry in the United States," in *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 18: 396–412 (July, 1920); C. W. Thompson, "The Movement of Wheat-growing: A Study of a Leading State," in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 18: 570–584 (August, 1904).

<sup>30</sup> Among them may be noted a doctor's thesis on "The Northern Cattle Country, 1865–1890," submitted by E. S. Osgood at the University of Wisconsin in 1927; L. G. Connor, "A Brief History of the Sheep Industry in the United States," in the American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1918, vol. 1, p. 89–197; and E. D. Ross, "How Dairying Came to North Dakota," in *College and State*, a magazine published by the North Dakota Agricultural College, 6: 10–12 (October, 1922).

<sup>31</sup> Two important works are N. S. B. Gras, *A History of Agriculture in Europe and America* (New York, 1925); and Albert H. Sanford, *The Story of Agriculture in the United States* (Boston, 1916).

<sup>32</sup> A beginning has been made in this field for Minnesota in Sydney A. Patchin, "The Development of Banking in Minnesota," *ante*, 2: 111–168 (August, 1917). The "Economic History of Banking in North Dakota" is the title of a thesis by O. E. Heskin, now in preparation at the University of Minnesota.

<sup>33</sup> The first subject is touched upon by Patchin, *ante*, 2: 111–119, and by Adolph O. Eliason in an article on "The Beginning of Banking in Minnesota," in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 12: 671–690 (1908); the second is treated inadequately in a sketch by Harrison A. Trexler entitled "Gold-dust and Greenbacks in Early Montana," in the *Overland Monthly*, 70: 63–67 (July, 1917).

There is no monograph that can be regarded as a satisfactory history of the lumber industry in Minnesota.<sup>34</sup> The writings on the subject are mainly the reminiscences of lumbermen, which will be highly valuable to the historian of the industry. The story of lumbering in Montana also remains to be written.

The history of iron mining in Minnesota has been written for the period to about 1900.<sup>35</sup> The recent history of the industry is in need of investigation, as is also the entire history of quarrying in Minnesota. There is no monograph on the development of the lignite fields in North Dakota. There is an extensive literature on the Black Hills region of South Dakota, with the emphasis always upon mining, but no one has written a comprehensive monograph on the history of mining in the Black Hills. In the great mass of writings dealing with mining in Montana only a very few represent the work of well-trained scholars.<sup>36</sup> It is nevertheless true that the history of gold mining in Montana has been well studied in

<sup>34</sup> E. G. Cheyney's article on "The Development of the Lumber Industry in Minnesota," in the *Journal of Geography*, 14: 189-195 (February, 1916), is a mere sketch; and a master's thesis submitted at the University of Minnesota in 1926 by Donald W. Snell, entitled "An Introduction to the History of Lumbering in Minnesota," is quite inadequate.

<sup>35</sup> See George L. Melton, "The Development of the Lake Superior Iron Region," a doctor's thesis submitted at the University of Chicago in 1908; Henry M. Rice, "Mineral Regions of Lake Superior, As Known from Their First Discovery to 1865," in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 2: 176-182 (1889); F. W. Taussig, "The Iron Industry in the United States," in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 14: 143-170 (February, 1900); George G. Tunell, "Lake Transportation and the Iron-ore Industry," in the *Journal of Political Economy*, 5: 23-39 (December, 1896); N. H. Winchell, "The Discovery and Development of the Iron Ores of Minnesota," in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 25-40 (1898); and Fremont P. Wirth, "The Operation of the Land Laws in the Minnesota Iron District," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 13: 483-498 (March, 1927).

<sup>36</sup> The following titles exhaust the list: P. C. Phillips and H. A. Trexler, "Notes on the Discovery of Gold in the Northwest," and William J. Trimble, "A Reconsideration of Gold Discoveries in the Northwest," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 4: 89-97; 5: 70-77 (June, 1917, June, 1918); William J. Trimble, *The Mining Advance into the Inland Empire* (University of Wisconsin, *Bulletins, History Series*, vol. 3, no. 2—1914).

its social and cultural aspects.<sup>37</sup> The economic history of gold mining in Montana and the history of copper mining in Montana remain to be written.

Some attention has been given to the history of early roads and trails in the Northwest.<sup>38</sup> There is, however, need for a survey of early roads and trails in each of the states. Some early roads, perhaps, are worthy of separate treatment, such as has been accorded the Bozeman Trail leading into Montana.<sup>39</sup> As for the recent history of roads and road-building, together with the development of motor transportation, the Northwest, in common with practically all other sections of the United States, has no historical study.

The history of transportation on the Mississippi River before the advent of the steamboat has been admirably written.<sup>40</sup> A considerable number of published works deal with the history of steamboating on the upper Mississippi. Some of them are monographic in character, but the greater number are memoirs of river men. None of these works, nor indeed all of them considered together, constitute a history of steamboating on the upper Mississippi. The writing of such a work is a task that awaits the hand of an historian who is willing to spare neither time nor energy in the study of a definitely marked off period that cannot fail to hold its lessons in transportation policy for all time. The history of steamboating on other Minnesota rivers is likewise largely unwritten.<sup>41</sup> The history of

<sup>37</sup> In Trimble, *The Mining Advance*.

<sup>38</sup> For example, in Aubrey Fullerton, "St. Paul, Red River, and York Factory," in *The Bellman*, 22: 681-685 (June 23, 1917); Grace L. Nute, "The Red River Trails," *ante*, 6: 278-282 (September, 1925); Lewis F. Crawford, *The Medora-Deadwood Stage Line* (Bismarck, North Dakota, 1925), a sketch printed also in the *North Dakota Historical Collections*, 7: 307-323 (1925); and Doane Robinson, "Old South Dakota Trails," in the *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 12: 149-155 (1924).

<sup>39</sup> By Grace R. Hebard and E. A. Brininstool in *The Bozeman Trail* (Cleveland, 1922. 2 vols.).

<sup>40</sup> See H. E. Hoagland, "Early Transportation on the Mississippi," in the *Journal of Political Economy*, 19: 111-123 (February, 1911).

<sup>41</sup> See Fred A. Bill, "Steamboating on the Red River of the North," in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, 2: 100-119 (January, 1928).

transportation on the Missouri River, in its larger aspects, has been studied by three scholars.<sup>42</sup>

It is well known that the history of railroads in all parts of the United States is a subject sadly in need of research.<sup>43</sup> There are histories of single railway systems lying wholly or partly in the Northwest,<sup>44</sup> but few of them can be regarded as satisfactory and the subject in general for this region is almost an unworked field. An allied subject in need of study is the history of the telegraph and the telephone.

When all the special topics in the field of transportation have been thoroughly investigated, it will be time to ask for comprehensive histories of transportation within each of the states of the Northwest, or within the region as a whole.

It must have been noticed that more gaps have been pointed out for North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana than for Minnesota. It is, of course, true that the history of Minnesota has been much more thoroughly investigated and written than that of any other state of the Northwest. Much yet remains to be done, however, for all the states, and above all are needed historical studies that do not stop at state boundaries, but consider a larger area — the northwest central region.

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<sup>42</sup> Philip E. Chappell, *History of the Missouri River*, is printed as a separate volume and also in the Kansas State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 9: 237-294 (1906). See also Hiram M. Chittenden, *History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River* (New York, 1903. 2 vols.); and Joseph M. Hanson, *The Conquest of the Missouri: Being the Story of the Life and Exploits of Captain Grant Marsh* (Chicago, 1909).

<sup>43</sup> The only general railroad histories that have been published are John Moody, *The Railroad Builders: A Chronicle of the Welding of the States* (*Chronicles of America Series*, vol. 38 — New Haven, 1921); and Robert E. Riegel, *The Story of the Western Railroads* (New York, 1926) — reviewed *ante*, 8: 83.

<sup>44</sup> The best of these are Judson W. Bishop, "History of the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad, 1864-1881," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 399-415 (part 1 — 1905); and Eugene V. Smalley, *History of the Northern Pacific Railroad* (New York, 1883).

## STATE HISTORICAL AGENCIES AND THE PUBLIC<sup>1</sup>

State historical agencies in recent years have been wooing the public with rare ardour. In some cases—notably in Missouri<sup>2</sup>—they have embarked upon the enterprise with set purpose and have laid their plans and carried through their campaigns with an altogether unromantic precision; and in others the courtship has progressed without deep design from stage to stage toward an entangling alliance. It is possible that to some scholars the popularizing of history is yet viewed with suspicion as a shibboleth of the passing hour. To most administrators of state historical work, however, it is now accepted as a wholly respectable objective, closely allied with the more fundamental purposes of collecting, making accessible, and publishing source materials, of bringing out historical studies, and of serving the needs of scholars.

In Dr. Buck's presidential address before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1923 much emphasis was placed upon the need of coöperation among scholars in American historical work, not only in the search for and the calendering of source materials and in documentary publication but also in the exchange and adaptation of ideas concerning the carrying of the "gospel of salvation through a knowledge of the past to all who are capable of receiving it."<sup>3</sup> From this point of view it may be useful to note some of the current practices of historical agencies in carrying state history to the public and perchance to suggest a few possibilities for improvement.

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the twenty-first annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Des Moines, Iowa, on April 26, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> See Floyd C. Shoemaker, "Popularizing State History," in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, 10:433-439 (1918-21).

<sup>3</sup> Solon J. Buck, "The Progress and Possibilities of Mississippi Valley History," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 10:14 (June, 1923).

Back of the effort are immediate practical objectives, but workers in the field are not unmindful of larger, if less tangible, gains toward which they are moving. Obviously it is desired "to spread a knowledge of and interest in state and local history among the largest possible number of people."<sup>4</sup> The practical results of such a spread may be seen in the rapidly increasing membership of state societies; in the growth of appreciation among public officials and legislators of the value of the work of such societies and consequently in more adequate financial support; in the organization and increased activity of local historical societies; in the more rapid building up of manuscript collections, historical libraries, and museums, both state and local; in the stimulation of the marking of historic sites and the erection of historical monuments; in increased attention to the teaching of state history; in the increase in quantity and not infrequently the improvement in quality of historical contributions to newspapers and magazines. To name such gains is sufficient to indicate their desirability; they are hailed with joy by historical society officials, though the increase in the burden of administration doubtless shortens their lives. When one turns to the contribution that a knowledge of state and local history makes to the enjoyment of individual life, one touches a gain that defies a measuring stick, but few will deny that the extension of such a gain to the largest possible number of people is desirable. Nor can it be doubted that progress in this direction leads not only to individual but also to community and state betterment. It is possible that the upshot of this popularizing of interest in a given state will be the creation of a wholesome state historical consciousness. And one may believe that this will have some relation to a more intelligent citizenship if there is a sound basis for the view that a knowledge of historical backgrounds contributes to one's grasp of present conditions and tendencies.

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin F. Shambaugh to the author, April 11, 1928.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that popularization of history should always be based upon the truth. It is probably Utopian to expect a large proportion of the population to become historical-minded, and yet if such a spirit of criticism and candor is desirable in the individual, let no one scoff at honest attempts to increase it in the aggregate. It is unnecessary to consider here the question of the general value of local historical study, though it may not be amiss to note that a scholarly reviewer has suggested that a recent volume in mid-western local history has some claim to being considered "the best history of civilization yet offered to the American public."<sup>5</sup> If so general a value can be placed upon investigation in this field, the advantage of popularizing local history would seem to be apparent.<sup>6</sup>

The state historical magazines appear to be the most effective agents in making the work of the state societies known and appreciated and in forwarding the cause of state history. The more substantial publications, however, not only have won prestige among scholars but also have impressed upon the people the interest and importance of state history and the value of the work of the societies. There has been a refreshing variation in the experiments in magazine publication by state historical agencies.<sup>7</sup> There still are state historical magazines that employ verse and meter in the writing of state history and that exemplify the antiquarian point of view; it cannot be denied that some are lamentably edited and that some are very shabbily printed. It is equally true, however,

<sup>5</sup> See Avery O. Craven's review of Joseph Schafer, *Four Wisconsin Counties*, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 14: 561-564 (March, 1928).

<sup>6</sup> A discriminating appraisal of "State History," by Dixon Ryan Fox, appears in the *Political Science Quarterly*, 36: 572-585 (December, 1921). See also his article "Outstanding Activities of the Historical Societies 1920-1923," in the Conference of Historical Societies, *Proceedings*, 1923, p. 11-19.

<sup>7</sup> An interesting account of "The Historical Society Magazines as Viewed by an Outsider," by William B. Shaw, appears in the Conference of Historical Societies, *Proceedings*, 1923, p. 20-27.

that not a few of the state magazines have set high standards with reference both to technical excellence and historical approach and are also attractive in appearance. The experiment of Iowa, which has cut the Gordian knot of the problem of the popular and scientific writing of history by publishing both a quarterly and a monthly magazine, the latter distinctively popular, has been watched with admiring interest. In most states, however, there is but one state historical magazine. In a number of cases these have achieved marked success from the standpoints both of scholarship and of interest. The editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* recently called attention to "the amazing development of regional historical publications" as an "interesting phenomenon of American life" and suggested that the Middle West has taken the lead in the movement.<sup>8</sup> It is possible that the success of the state magazines is in part responsible for the inclusion in the endowment program of the American Historical Association of the possible establishment of a popular magazine — as yet unborn — to bring out "historical articles dealing with topics of general interest and so written as to appeal to the average person of culture."<sup>9</sup>

An evidence of the popularity of the state magazines is to be found in the frequency with which articles are reprinted in newspapers as "feature stories." Probably Missouri has witnessed a more extensive newspaper use of its magazine items than any other state, though such use is not uncommon elsewhere. The use of the press as a medium for disseminating knowledge of state and local history has been notably developed by the state societies. The publication of monthly press bulletins, begun by Iowa in 1911, by Wisconsin in 1914, and by Minnesota in 1921, has supplied hundreds of newspapers with short historical articles and news items that have

<sup>8</sup> *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 14: 437 (December, 1927).

<sup>9</sup> "Program for the Use of the Income from an Endowment Fund of a Million Dollars," a mimeographed circular issued by the American Historical Association in August, 1926.

been extensively reprinted. In Missouri a news letter to newspaper editors entitled "This Week in Missouri History" is regarded as one of the two most effective means employed in the last five years in making the work of the State Historical Society of Missouri known and in popularizing the history of the state. The State Historical Society of Iowa has furnished the newspapers through the Associated Press with a series entitled "Stories Out of Iowa's Past" and it took advantage of the "Ask Me Another" vogue to supply the press with a thousand questions and answers on Iowa history. Numerous other possibilities in connection with the press have been exploited. Thus Dr. Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, recently wrote six articles on the chief racial elements in that state for distribution to the press through the department of rural journalism of the University of Wisconsin. In many states newspapers are encouraged to draw upon historical society materials for "feature stories." If the results are sometimes disconcerting, it is also true that such historical features are often better than the usual feature stories and that sometimes they result in the turning up of diaries and other manuscript materials. In general this use of the press, aside from its influence in placing historical items before readers, seems to open the door to desirable publicity for the societies; it tends to encourage local historical writing; and it may be considered a wholesome thing.

Five years ago Dr. Buck called attention to the desirability of making the programs of state historical society meetings broader in interest than those so familiar in the past. There has been genuine progress in this direction, and the state historical meeting with scholarly papers, interesting and suggestive addresses, and spirited discussions of local history problems is now common. In Minnesota since 1921 a state historical convention has been held each summer. The meetings have occurred in different parts of the state and each one has been preceded by an organized "historic tour" from the Twin

Cities, with stops at places of special interest. In 1927 more than eighty automobiles were in line at one stage of the tour and one session of the convention — held jointly with a local old settlers' association — attracted an audience of about fifteen hundred people. In Indiana similar historical pilgrimages and meetings have had marked success. The annual meetings of the Minnesota Historical Society have broadened out from affairs of one session with an annual address to all-day programs, usually with a local history conference in the morning, a luncheon at noon, and afternoon and evening sessions for addresses and historical papers.

Much attention has been given at the annual meetings and conventions of the Minnesota Historical Society to the problem of local history organization, and one of the interesting evidences of the growth of historical interest in that state is a crop of newly organized county historical societies. In most of the states of the Middle West the local historical society movement, which promises much in the collection of records, the writing of local history, the erection of markers, and the general promotion of historical work, has been vigorously forwarded in recent years. In states like Indiana, Missouri, Illinois, and Wisconsin, the activities of such societies, closely affiliated with the state agencies, are on a firm basis; and in the states farther north and west progress has been rapid. Allied with this matter is the establishment of local historical museums. This is looked upon as one of the main objectives of the state society in Indiana.<sup>10</sup> Mention may be made here of state fair exhibits and traveling museum exhibits, both of which have been employed by the Minnesota Historical Society to forward interest in the society and in the state's history.

<sup>10</sup> Though much attention has been given to the museum movement, perhaps not as much has been done as would be desirable in the matter of encouraging local libraries to cultivate the field of local history. On some possibilities here see Augustus H. Shearer, "The Public Library and Local History," in *New York Libraries*, 8: 135-138 (November, 1922).

Lectures and talks by staff members are a standard feature of the work of public education as carried on by many state historical societies. Perhaps the most interesting development in this general field has been the use of the radio. In Iowa a notable series of radio talks is given in connection with "Iowa History Week"—a week when the whole state is called upon to exploit its history. It would be interesting to know more about the results of state history radio talks, but effective checks apparently have not been made. In Minnesota, where one series of more than twenty radio talks was given, there were instances of family papers and diaries turned over to the society as a result of invitations broadcast. In Missouri state historical radio talks have met with a wide response of interest. With radios installed in the schools it becomes possible for one talk, given at an appropriate hour, to be heard in school assemblies throughout the state. Closely related to the use of lectures and talks is that of the lantern and especially the motion picture. Some societies have installed archives for motion picture films and sponsored the exhibition of films in various communities. In one state an historical pageant on a large scale was filmed and the film widely exhibited. In Minnesota at a summer convention held in St. Cloud, a film history of that city and its vicinity, prepared by a local newspaper, formed a number on the program. It is apparent that the state societies are taking into account the value of visual education in their work. Probably, however, they have only passed the beginning stages.

Such dramatic attempts at the visual reconstruction of past events as pageants possess remarkable power of attracting public attention. Unfortunately, however, they are frequently handled with scant attention to accuracy either of detail or of interpretation. It is therefore encouraging to note that some societies have taken steps toward the improvement of historical pageants. In Iowa, for example, the state historical society has distributed the texts of two excellent pageants on the Indians and the pioneers. Pageants are frequently given in

connection with anniversary celebrations. It is to be noted that in some states historical agencies give special attention to sponsoring popular movements of a commemorative character. An interesting case of this sort is the work of the Indiana Historical Society in relation to the observance of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of George Rogers Clark's capture of Vincennes and the organization of a national memorial at Vincennes. Here is an instance of an enterprise on a large scale that will attract the attention and arouse the interest of people not only in Indiana but throughout the whole country.

Many state historical societies have actively interested themselves in the promotion of historic marking, and the progress of that movement in the last fifteen or twenty years—a period synchronizing with the democratization of the automobile and the rapid improvement of highways—has been remarkable, especially in the Middle West. The giving of advice with reference to inscriptions has been one form of aid by historical societies. Another is the preparation of guides to landmarks, a recent example of which is that by Dr. Louise P. Kellogg on "Wisconsin Historical Landmarks," "grouped by regions, and listed as nearly as may be for the convenience of tourists following the well-known lines of travel."<sup>11</sup> Coöperation with state officials, organizations, local communities, and individuals seems to be the keynote to state historical society activity in this field.<sup>12</sup> In some states the subject is closely related to that of state parks, and the encouragement of historical society officials has been given to the better administration of public memorials, to the creation of new parks,

<sup>11</sup> State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Proceedings*, 1927, appendix.

<sup>12</sup> Colorado points the way to an interesting method of stimulating "historic marking." Dr. J. N. Hall of Denver has established a trust fund of five thousand dollars, the income of which is "to be paid under direction of the State Historical Society for the purpose of erecting and aiding in the erection, from time to time, of permanent monuments, memorials, markers and tablets identifying the location of places of historic interest in Colorado." See "The Mrs. J. N. Hall Endowment," in the *Colorado Magazine*, 5: 33 (February, 1928).

embracing in some cases areas of special historical interest, and to the proper care of such parks.<sup>13</sup>

An important aspect of the work of most state historical agencies is the conducting of historical information bureaus. In Minnesota a large number of inquiries are received each year, covering numerous phases of state and local history. These are given careful attention, in many cases involving research in manuscripts, and often yield interesting collateral results. In Indiana, where genealogical as well as historical questions are answered, there are as many as three or four thousand inquiries handled each year. In general there has been a rapid increase in the last five years in the number of inquiries received by the societies. The information bureau work, involving as it does the application of historical method to concrete state historical problems, is an important part of the general public educational enterprises of the state societies.

Yet another field to which some societies have given special attention is that of promoting the teaching of state and local history in the schools. Among the means employed to further this work, aside from the usual facilities and publications of the societies, the preparation of guides, outlines, textbooks, books of readings, and the like would seem to be of special importance.

It is clear that the exploitation of public state historical interest is on a solid basis, fortified by experience. The writer does not urge any particular state to use the ideas or practices that have been described. State and local circumstances of course must be taken into account in every case and necessary adaptations made. Doubtless many other ideas that have not been touched upon here are being successfully applied, and new and perhaps better practices will be originated and tried. This paper is not intended to leave the impression that all the state historical agencies are uniformly successful in their pub-

<sup>13</sup> See in this connection an interesting report on the state parks of Minnesota by Ray P. Chase, published under the title *Statement to the Nineteen Hundred Twenty-three Legislature*.

lic educational work. Nor is it the writer's intention to offer any criticism of agencies that have limited their activities to collection, publication, and service for scholars. Here are certain ideas, practices, and experiments that are available for use or adaptation. In most cases it is possible to determine whether they have worked ill or well.

A few suggestions may be offered in closing, looking toward the filling in of certain gaps revealed by a survey of the general situation:

First, it might be desirable to take further steps toward the improvement of local historical writing. The influence of historical magazines of high standards is powerful. Manuscripts by non-professional local historical writers are frequently criticized in friendly spirit by professional historians. The setting up of high ideals in local historical societies is an aid. The publication of historical newspaper articles sent out from the state historical society helps. Encouragement of trained teachers of history to exploit local historical subjects is useful. But possibly something more can be done. The writer agrees with Dr. Schafer that "any person of intelligence who has a bent in that direction can learn to deal with problems of local history in a historical spirit and by methods that will yield sound results."<sup>14</sup> The writer would like to suggest the advisability of preparing a simple manual or guide in local historical investigation for beginners. Some years ago a practical manual of this type was prepared by a federation of local historical agencies in Norway, where the study of local history has reached a very high plane. The edition of this manual was quickly sold out and a new and more elaborate handbook is now being prepared that embraces instruction in the purposes of local historical research, kinds of sources, possible subjects for investigation, methods of treating the history of a farm, archives and libraries, maps, town and district history, and the like. A number of noted scholars are collaborating in its

<sup>14</sup> State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Proceedings*, 1927, p. 34.

preparation.<sup>16</sup> Some states in this country have made practical suggestions along some of these lines in occasional leaflets, and Dr. Schafer, who seems bent on enlisting the coöperation of all Wisconsin in his study of local history, issued in 1926 a useful *Schedule for the Study of Local History of Wisconsin Rural Towns*. There would seem to be a need, however, for something more comprehensive and of more general value, and it might be prepared coöperatively. Let it be remembered that an astounding number of persons occasionally turn their hands to local historical research. Through state and local societies it would be possible to reach many of these workers. Many local historians might resent attempts to insist upon technical scholarship, but it is highly probable that most would welcome some aid in fundamentals, especially if offered in so unobtrusive a way.

Second, it might be desirable to encourage local historical societies that have collected manuscripts to draw up finding lists of their manuscript materials and to file copies of these lists with the state societies. The same suggestion incidentally might be offered to all state historical agencies with reference to their own manuscripts, so that lists of such materials could be on file with other societies, not merely in the interest of local workers in their own states but to serve scholars throughout the land.

Third, in the field of the teaching of state history it might be desirable to prepare outlines or syllabi with special attention to the correlation of state history with national history. Most teachers would welcome constructive suggestions for such a correlation. Their main difficulty ordinarily is twofold; how to correlate state history with a general course and

<sup>16</sup> The first handbook, edited by Lorens Berg and others, bore the title *Veileddning i lokalhistoriske undersøkelser for begyndere*. An account of the plans for the manual now being prepared appears in *Heimen*, 2: 125-126 (1927). This interesting magazine, edited by Professor Oscar A. Johnsen of the University of Oslo, is published semiannually as the organ of *Landslaget for bygde-og byhistorie*, that is, the National Society for District and Town History.

where to get state history materials. Outlines of the kind suggested might prove a welcome aid to them on both scores.<sup>16</sup>

Fourth, allusion to a plan that has been followed in one European country for improving local historical work suggests possible advantages in familiarizing ourselves with the methods and organization that have been worked out in this field in the various European countries. The times seem to demand coöperation among those interested in forwarding the history cause—coöperation of local historical societies among themselves and with state societies, coöperation of state societies with other state societies and with the regional and national organizations. The writer believes that plans might be developed for coöperation between American local history interests and those of Europe—for example, in the collection of letters and diaries sent from pioneers in localities of the Middle West to their friends in England or Germany or Norway or Switzerland or other countries of the Old World.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> See Asa E. Martin, "One Solution of the State History Problem," in the *Historical Outlook*, 16: 163-164 (April, 1925); and the writer's "Minnesota History: A Study Outline, with a Plan for the Correlation of State and National History," mimeographed by Hamline University, St. Paul, in 1927.

<sup>17</sup> It may be of interest to note in this connection that the Norwegian-American Historical Association has already entered upon a plan of coöperation with the National Society for District and Town History in Norway for the collection of "America letters." Through this organization contacts have been established with the various Norwegian localities; the entire subject was discussed at a meeting of the national society in the summer of 1927; and a vigorous effort is now under way to locate manuscripts that throw light upon the emigration from Norway and upon conditions in the settlements that were established in the New World by the Norwegian immigrants. The manuscripts that come to light will be preserved in a central depository in the Norwegian capital, Oslo, and photostatic copies or typewritten transcripts will be secured by the Norwegian-American Historical Association for preservation in the library of St. Olaf College at Northfield.

## MINNESOTA AS SEEN BY TRAVELERS

### AN ENGLISH STUDENT OF PRAIRIE FARMING

Sir James Caird, the author of the little volume from which the following excerpts are taken, arrived in America from England in the fall of 1858. His journey through Canada and the prairie region of the United States was in no sense a casual sight-seeing tour. He came to investigate and report on the opportunities that the cheap virgin lands of the upper Mississippi basin held out to the English tenant farmer.

Few men in England were better prepared for such a task. The loud complaints of the English agriculturists after the passage of the Corn Laws in 1846 had called attention to the adverse conditions under which they were operating. In 1850, Caird was commissioned by the *London Times* to conduct a survey of rural England. His letters to the *Times*, which were later published as a single volume, give the first adequate picture of English agricultural conditions after Arthur Young's famous reports, which appeared more than fifty years before.<sup>1</sup>

From his study of the situation in England, Caird became convinced that only through the emigration of numbers of the tenant farmers could the economic well-being of those who remained be improved. "The time seems thus to have arrived," he declared, "when the farmers must thin the ranks of home competition by sending off the young and enterprising to countries where they may become the owners of a fertile soil, and profitably contribute to supply the wants of the old country, whose land can no longer meet the demands of her dense population. During the last year we have imported into this country at the rate of nearly one million quarters of grain each month. We have thus in addition to our home crop, consumed each day the produce of acres of foreign land, a demand so

<sup>1</sup>James Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850-1851* (London, 1852).

vast as to offer to young men of our own country the strongest inducements to take their share in its supply."<sup>2</sup>

In Caird's opinion, the prairie lands of Illinois offered the best chance to the emigrant. Most of his book is taken up with a very complete and valuable description of the lands in that section, but lately made available by the network of railroads that had spread over the state in the railroad building era of the fifties. His journey in the autumn of 1858 from Prairie du Chien to St. Paul and back was in the nature of a side trip. Minnesota appeared to him to be too distant and the connection with Chicago and the eastern seaboard too inadequate to attract settlement.

Because he was conscious that the purpose of his journey was to give his English readers as accurate an account of American conditions as possible, he was careful not to overstate the case. He did not hesitate to comment on the poor quality of much of the farm land he saw in Ontario, a piece of impartiality that resulted in the publication in Toronto in the year following his visit of a pamphlet entitled *Caird's Slanders on Canada Answered and Refuted*. The account of this trained observer is, therefore, of particular value to the student interested in conditions in the Northwest in the fifties.

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[James Caird, *Prairie Farming in America. With Notes by the Way on Canada and the United States*, 102-111 (New York, 1859).]

At Prairie du Chien we found ourselves on the Mississippi, the Father of Waters, which at this point is nearly 2000 miles from the sea. This was formerly a French trading post, and more recently a frontier post of the Americans. There is here a loop-holed barrack capable of lodging 400 men. It was discontinued soon after the last fight with the Indians here in 1833, the frontier garrison having since that time moved many hundred miles

<sup>2</sup> *Prairie Farming in America*, 9 (New York, 1859).

farther west. It is now abandoned and going to ruin.<sup>3</sup> The American system, as I was informed by an engineer officer of the service, is to spend no money in keeping up establishments after the object has been accomplished. Their surveying officers on the frontier are allowed only nails and glass, and with these they may erect quarters if they like. If not, they may live in their tents,—at all events, they are not permitted to spend public money.

We here embarked on the Mississippi for St. Paul's, a voyage up the river of 300 miles. The river at this place is about as wide as the Rhine at Cologne, but with a less rapid current and not so deep a stream. The west side is very picturesque; a series of limestone-bluffs, 200 feet high, covered on their face and summit with autumn tinted woods, and broken into irregular forms by little valleys branching off from the main stream. As we quietly proceed on our course, every new reach opens out a fresh scene of beauty, and we are soon shut in on both sides by lofty ridges of limestone rock. In many places this ridge retires a short way from the water, its sharp edge disappears, and a round grassy face, smooth and regular as a lawn, runs up within twenty feet of the top of the sharp peak or frowning rock which crowns the whole. Single trees are scattered like ornamental timber over the green hill sides, which presents the most charming natural sites for building. But houses there are none, except here and there at a landing-place on the river, where a wooden store and "office" invite the traveller to land and become an unit in the incipient "city." There are also huts on the edge of the water at convenient points for "wooding," occupied by wood-cutters, who prepare fuel for the steam-vessels. In summer the banks are infested with musquitos, and the people live in the open air, round large fires, to protect themselves from the insect. The farther north you go in these latitudes, during the short but hot summer, the more you are liable to be tormented by musquitos.

Our steamer, which draws only 28 inches of water, is a huge structure. The saloon is 200 feet long and 8 feet high, with Gothic roof painted white and gold. There are little sleeping cabins along both sides of the entire length, sufficient to accommo-

<sup>3</sup> For the story of the post at Prairie du Chien see Bruce E. Mahan, *Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1926).

date 130 passengers. The fare includes provisions, and an abundant table is served three times a day. There is hardly any difference in the meals in this western country, except that to breakfast and supper we are offered tea and coffee, while at dinner cold water is the only beverage. The manners of the people we meet with on the Mississippi are not a whit exaggerated by Dickens in "Martin Chuzzlewit." I have met with instances of every dirty habit which he describes, and any Englishman who desires to see the West must steel himself against disagreeable incidents of hourly occurrence. He will be amply repaid for any inconvenience of this kind by the vastness of the new scenes constantly opening before him.

The high-pressure engine every minute emits a melancholy sigh, but it drives us quietly along against the stream at a tolerable rate. A traveller on the shore holds up his umbrella; the huge vessel, as if watching him, sheers in towards the soft bank, runs her nose upon it, a plank is shoved out, and the "gent" walks on board: we back off and proceed. The ship is managed by a pilot, who has a glass-house elevated between the paddle-boxes, above the whole superstructure, and from this commanding position both steers the vessel and communicates his orders to the engineer by a signal bell. The captain's business seems to be to keep order in the ship, and to take the head of the table at the various meals. While standing beside him at the front of the elevated deck, our ship began to back in the middle of the river. "What's the matter?" said I. "Smelt a bar, I guess," said the captain, "and backing out in time." "These snags," said I, pointing to one, "must be troublesome at night; don't they take them out?" "No, we know about where they *air*, and keep pretty clear of them." "Any other danger on the river, Captain?" "No, only two, a sink or a burn up. We sometimes snag — not often — and sometimes go afire. But we seldom have an accident. In June last there was a burn up, — a few miles below; — seldom happens though!" "You have no heavy sea to trouble you, at any rate;" I threw in by way of comfort. "I guess not," said the captain, turning full upon me, "we build these steamers strong enough for their purpose, Mister, and as light as possible. They are for the river, not the lake. In a heavy sea they would double up in a clip; and that's a fact."

There are many sand-bars on the river, which, at this season are so near the surface that the vessel sometimes sticks. But in the bows two great legs or stilts are fixed, like little masts, with blocks and tackle, and when the steamer "bars," down go the stilts, the tackle is made fast to the capstan, the men pull upon it, and raise the ship a foot or more, clean off the bottom, at the bows. The paddles are then set on full steam, and the vessel is literally jumped over the bar. I asked the captain if by this means he could get over any ordinary bar. "I reckon I could lift her over the river bank, if she would hang together," was his reply.

We passed at night through Lake Pepin, an expansion of the river, from two to three miles broad and twenty-five miles long. The scenery is said to be very beautiful, but we could only catch a glimpse of the "Maiden's Rock," which rises sheer up about 200 feet from the water's edge. A romantic American, an individual rarely met with, told me its story in the starlight. Winona, the daughter of a celebrated Indian warrior, had been betrothed by her father against her wish. The wedding-day was appointed, and the feast was being prepared. She and her young companions went out to gather a berry that grows among the rocks. It was a summer evening, and, busied in their occupation, the rest did not observe that Winona had parted from them. Suddenly from the summit of the rock a low cry was heard. It was the death song of Winona, who, in a moment more, with one spring from the edge of the precipice, buried herself in the lake.

At a place called Prescott, at the junction of the St. Croix river, on the Wisconsin side, the country is remarkably pretty, wooded and park like, with rounded grassy knolls 100 feet high, which slope down towards the water, terminating in a precipitous limestone bank. Here, in some places, the prairie falls gradually to the edge of the river. The country for some distance back is all bought and occupied, but none of the settlers seem to choose a residence among the wooded glens. A few hours more bring us to St. Paul's.

St. Paul's, the capital of Minnesota, the last State admitted to the Union, stands very beautifully on a sloping limestone ridge of the Mississippi, upwards of 2000 miles from its mouth at

New Orleans. It may be regarded as the head of uninterrupted navigation, for the Falls of St. Anthony, only nine miles further up, close the passage. Above the Falls, however, steamers ply 150 miles still further northwest. From this highest point it is proposed to make a land connection with the Red River, which flows north, and is navigable for 300 miles before it enters the British territory at Pembina.

The new State of Minnesota has an area considerably greater than the British Isles. The southern part is chiefly prairie, very level for great distances west, as was shown to me in a section of the railway now being constructed. The soil is considerably more sandy than that of Illinois; the winters are intensely cold, but the summers, though comparatively short, generally mature the various corn crops which are cultivated. This State has its northern boundary along the British territory, at present possessed by the Hudson's Bay Company. The crops for the two last years have been threatened, and partially injured, by a plague of grasshoppers.

A bridge is in course of construction to connect the two banks of the river, on both of which the city is being built, the one to be called East, and the other West St. Paul's. The houses are solidly built of limestone, the material for the walls and mortar being found in excavating the foundation. All kinds of public improvement are rapidly carried into execution, city bonds being issued to defray the cost. These bonds can be purchased to yield 12 or 15 per cent., and may prove a good security if population continues to flock to Minnesota. Banks, land agency offices, and newspapers, are already numerous in the city. The newspapers are dailies, and in walking out early on the Sunday morning, before many people were stirring, I was surprised to observe the morning papers already laid on the handle of every door, or shoved in below it, ready for the owner's perusal as soon as he should make his appearance.

The market-place on Saturday was thronged with people buying and selling their various produce. The Irish had sacks of potatoes and other vegetables, the Americans dealt in beef; but the most remarkable looking merchants there were the Red Indians, who were selling wild ducks. They were in considerable num-

bers, both men and women, in their native costume, the men generally carrying good double-barrelled guns. There are still several Indian tribes at no great distance from St. Paul's, who live entirely by the produce of their guns.

I was introduced here to a state senator who, with basket on his arm, was making his morning's market. I was afterwards indebted to this gentleman for a presentation to the governor,<sup>4</sup> whilst he was reviewing a corps of volunteers at the State-house. They were very soldierly-like men, their uniform more like the French than English, and they seemed to go through their evolutions very creditably. They had a brass gun, and three or four artillery men in the corps. The United States have an enrolled and organised militia of upwards of two millions and a half, from which a very formidable army might readily be selected. The people are fond of soldiering. In every considerable town, some volunteer cavalry or infantry corps will be found parading about, but I never saw a soldier of the regular army all the time I was in the Union. These are all posted in the interior of the continent on the Indian frontier.

In pursuing our course to the Falls of St. Anthony, we skirt along between the prairie country and the bank of the Mississippi. We cross the river by a ferry below Fort Snelling, one of the old frontier posts now abandoned.<sup>5</sup> It stands on the point of the promontory, which juts out into the junction of the Minnesota River with the Mississippi, at an elevation of 150 feet, and must have been capable of easy defence against any sort of Indian warfare. Two miles farther we came to a little gushing stream, where is laid the most beautiful scene of Longfellow's Indian poem, "Hiawatha,"

"Where the falls of Minnehaha  
Flash and gleam in shining reaches,  
Leap and laugh among the woodlands."

<sup>4</sup> Henry H. Sibley.

<sup>5</sup> Troops were withdrawn from Fort Snelling on May 27, 1858, but the post was abandoned only until the outbreak of the Civil War. During that conflict the government used the fort as a training station, and later it was continued as a permanent post. Marcus L. Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858*, 52 (Iowa City, Iowa, 1918).

We dived into the little glen, admired the waterfall, drank of its fresh waters, and finally cut walking-sticks in remembrance of it. It is certainly pretty; but, as an American has described it, unusually "neat." The water pours over a rock through a groove which exactly fits it, and it runs away below with all the regularity of a mill stream. Nevertheless, for the lovely Minnehaha's sake, we did our best to admire it. There is a great distinction between American and European scenery in this, that in America there are few accessories to the scene. There is a waterfall, but no enclosing mountain — no dashing along over rocky bed before the final leap, and but a very tame gorge below. The face of the country is generally monotonous, — hundreds of miles of bare prairie, breaking down at its edges into natural troughs for the water. The traveller over the prairie comes upon the great river suddenly; and sees, perhaps a hundred feet below him, the vast stream flowing along the hollow trough which it has worn for itself in the course of ages.

A few miles farther brought us to St. Anthony, where the Mississippi makes a leap over the rocks of some twenty or thirty feet. The river was low; and as we were then nearly the whole length of Europe from its mouth, we did not expect too much. Moreover, both sides of it belong to Jonathan, and he is a deal too sharp to throw away so good a mill power. On each side, then, the main body of the water is caught, and turned to the servile purpose of sawing lumber. The surplus water is left to run off in the centre, where it forms a little green imitation of the Great Horse Shoe Fall of Niagara. We literally "hunted" this waterfall, for we were a good hour jumping across the floating logs, and along the various dam faces, before we reached the best point of view. The young American lumbermen employed here are fine stalwart men, extremely expert in the use of the axe, by which they earn several dollars a-day at piecework.

We returned by the other side of the river, which is crossed by a suspension bridge above the Falls. This brought us to the new city of St. Anthony, and its vast hotel, now seemingly empty, then past a college which has recently been built for higher class education.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The hotel referred to was probably the Winslow House, which was completed in the spring of 1857, and was thronged each summer until

The eighteenth part of all the public lands in Minnesota is set apart for the support of schools; 46,000 acres more are appropriated for a state university; 6400 acres for the erection of public buildings at the seat of government, and 5 per cent. of the sales of all public lands are granted to the state, by Congress, for the construction of public roads and internal improvements. Besides this, every alternate square mile of land, for five miles on each side of the lines, is granted to aid in the construction of various lines of railway which are intended to traverse the state.

The system of credit established throughout the American Union, if very unsound in all times of difficulty, is certainly productive of many useful results. For instance, the State of Minnesota has fine unoccupied land, which is of no value so long as it remains inaccessible. It is determined to construct a railway, and the state finds the funds in this manner:—it issues bonds bearing 6 or 7 per cent. interest, which are handed over to the contractor as his work progresses. These bonds may not be very saleable out of the state, but the contractor lodges them with the State Treasurer, and obtains, in lieu, 90 per cent. of their amount in authorized notes of issue. With these he pays his wages and bills, finishes another section of road, receives a second instalment of State stock, makes a second issue of notes, and so the thing goes on until the road is made, the country opened up, and produce brought to market. The bonds are cleared off as the land is sold, and everybody is benefited.<sup>7</sup>

There is yet only one way of going to or returning from St. Paul's, and we therefore took steamer down the Mississippi over our former course as far as Prairie du Chien.

the outbreak of the Civil War with visitors from the South and East. The college was doubtless a building of the incipient University of Minnesota that was built in 1858 and formed the "west wing and extension" of the Old Main of the university campus. The building was used for a few months shortly after its erection and again during the winter of 1859-60, but it was unoccupied during most of the period that elapsed before the university opened its doors in 1869. Marion D. Shutter, *History of Minneapolis*, 1: 145 (Chicago, 1923); E. Bird Johnson, *Forty Years of the University of Minnesota*, 23-25 (Minneapolis, 1910).

<sup>7</sup> A detailed account of this plan for the promotion of railroad building, which did not work out so successfully as Caird's statement would suggest, is given in a chapter on "The Five Million Loan" in William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 2: 37-58 (St. Paul, 1924).

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives and Libraries Relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley to 1803.*  
Edited by N. M. MILLER SURREY (MRS. F. M. SURREY).  
Volume 1. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Department of Historical Research, 1926. xvi, 689 p.)

It would be difficult to overestimate the value of this calendar. Evidences of careful planning, ripe scholarship, and meticulous care are visible throughout, and the result is eminently satisfying. Dr. J. Franklin Jameson has told in the preface how the work, planned in 1907 by historical agencies in the Mississippi Valley, was begun under the direction of a committee of the American Historical Association and finished under the ægis of Dr. Jameson's own organization, the Carnegie Institution of Washington. He has also given due credit to the fine editorial work of Mrs. Surrey and to the revision by Mr. David W. Parker, formerly the keeper of manuscripts in the Canadian Archives, though he has modestly failed to acknowledge his own share in the enterprise.

A system of abbreviations has enabled the editor to give, besides an abstract of each document, references to the books in which it has been printed. Of course a large percentage of the manuscripts has never been published, and the entries for these are much more detailed than for the others. By these devices the reader's time is saved as much as possible.

For the region of the upper Mississippi, including modern Minnesota, the entries are numerous. Thus, a hasty checking of the first eighty-four pages covering the years from 1581 to 1701 reveals over two hundred and forty unpublished documents that contribute to a knowledge of the French régime in the Minnesota country. Of course the familiar names of Radisson, Groseilliers, La Salle, Jolliet, Tonty, Du Luth, Hennepin, Marquette, Allouez, La Durantye, Perrot, and Le Sueur appear many times; but others, less familiar or totally unknown hitherto, are also encountered. A great deal of unpublished material on Du Luth,

Hennepin, and Le Sueur is listed; one is especially intrigued with the "journal [of *Le Sueur*] of a voyage beginning at La Rochelle, Oct. 16, 1699, to Santo Domingo in the *Gironde*, along the coast of La., and up the Mississippi." General accounts of the fur trade, of missions, of exploration, and of the Indian tribes are numerous, and maps are not infrequent. In the period after 1701 a good deal of data on La Vérendrye, La Jémeraye, Delisle's map work, the missionaries among the Sioux, the Fox wars, and the copper mines on Lake Superior may be found.

About half of the first volume is taken up with the years from 1730 to 1739. The second volume will complete the period of the French régime and will also contain an index, which will render this first volume even more useful than it is at present.

An interesting departure from ordinary printing methods should be mentioned, for the volume is reproduced from the original typewritten manuscript by means of the planograph. In this way the small edition was published more economically than by printing and typographical errors were avoided in a work that abounded in pitfalls for the typesetter. A long list of officials in France and in her American colonies makes the reader indebted still further to those who planned this volume so wisely.

GRACE LEE NUTE

*Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye and His Sons, with Correspondence between the Governors of Canada and the French Court, Touching the Search for the Western Sea.* Edited with introduction and notes by LAWRENCE J. BURPEE. (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1927. xxiii, 548 p. Maps.)

There is no more fascinating story in the annals of French exploration in North America than that of the westward push of La Vérendrye and his sons along the northern boundary of what is now Minnesota and into the farther West on both sides of the present international line, with the great Sea of the West as its ultimate objective. One outcome was the establishment of Fort St. Charles on the detached part of Minnesota that lies west of the Lake of the Woods and north of the forty-ninth parallel, the longest occupied French post on Minnesota soil; and another

was the opening up of a route to the great Northwest that was destined to be an important highway of commerce for nearly a century. Mr. Burpee and the Champlain Society have rendered an important service to students of the French régime by bringing together and publishing in the original French and in English translation the sources for the history of this enterprise, and they have made a book that will be of great interest to any lover of stories of adventure.

The work opens with a comprehensive bibliography, in which the only omission noted is that of the "Vérendrye Number" of the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society (June, 1925). One section of this bibliography is devoted to works on "The Mandan and the Missouri River." In a forty-page introduction the editor summarizes the expeditions, supplies their setting, and discusses some of the controversies that have arisen concerning them. With reference to the mountains reached by the expedition of 1742-43, which are generally supposed to have been the foothills of the Rockies, Mr. Burpee is inclined to accept the theory of Mr. Doane Robinson that they were the Black Hills—"though it leaves the expedition one of no very striking importance."

The arrangement of the documents is chronological, but there are a number of departures from this system, some for no apparent reason. The device of a divided page is used, with the French at the top and the English below; and the editor's wealth of geographical and historical information enables him to supply many valuable footnotes. The translation is eminently readable and appears in the main to be a faithful rendering of the original. There would seem to be no good reason, however, why *sub-arbitre* should be rendered both "chief arbitrator" and "sub-arbitrators" in the same sentence (p. 519). A number of documents concerning La Vérendrye's dealing with merchants in Montreal are segregated in an appendix. One of them (p. 532) appears to be a copy of part of a letter in the text (p. 382), and there are curious differences in the translations. The seven large-scale reproductions of contemporary maps are a notable feature of the work. Unfortunately, however, there must have been a mix-up in the location of the maps, for La Jemeraye's map of 1734 referred to in notes (p. 107, 110) as opposite page 116 seems to

be the map opposite page 98. An index of names only concludes the volume.

The student who uses this work will naturally want to know how complete it is. The editor's design was evidently to include all source material of any significance on the La Vérendrye expeditions; but a checking of the first volume of the *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives and Libraries Relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley*, issued by the Carnegie Institution in 1926, discloses about twenty-five pertinent documents prior to 1740 that are not represented in the work. Most of them are brief and it is doubtful if any of them contain much additional information. In fairness to the editor, moreover, it should be observed that his work was practically completed before the World War and presumably the book was in the hands of the printer before the *Calendar* appeared. The convenience of the work to the research student would have been enhanced by the inclusion of data about the individual documents such as the exact location and form of the originals and citations of previous printings and translations. Two or more versions of some of the documents exist in the French archives, but there are no indications as to which has been relied upon. One wonders to what extent the transcripts in the Canadian Archives or the versions in Margry's *Découvertes et établissements* have been used without checking back to the originals and also what principles have been followed in the difficult matter of reproducing old manuscripts in print.

The value of this collection for Minnesota history may be illustrated by noting some of the sidelights on early agriculture. Thus on May 21, 1733, La Vérendrye writes of his establishment at Fort St. Charles: "There is good fishing and hunting, quantities of wild oats, and excellent land cleared by fire which I am now putting in seed" (p. 96). Four days later he reported that "the great chief of the Cree . . . told me . . . that he was going to raise corn as we do" (p. 101). In the fall, however, the Indians "had nothing to eat. In this extreme need of theirs I made over to them the field of Indian corn which I had sown in the spring, and which was not yet entirely ripe. . . . The sowing of a bushel of peas after we had been eating them

green for a long time gave us ten bushels, which I had sown the following spring with some Indian corn. I had by entreaty induced two families of savages to sow corn, and I hope that the comfort that they derived from it will lead others to follow their example. They will be better off and we less bothered."

The impression of the elder La Vérendrye that one gets from a reading of these documents is that he was a true explorer imbued with curiosity and the love of adventure and eager to extend the dominions of France. The accusation of Maurepas that he neglected exploration to further his interests in the fur trade (p. 471) seems unjustified, especially in view of the fact that he was obliged to rely upon the profits of the trade for funds for prosecuting the explorations. He is entitled to a position beside Jolliet, La Salle, and Du Luth in the ranks of the great explorers who opened up the heart of North America.

SOLON J. BUCK

*The Northwest Fur Trade, 1763-1800* (University of Illinois, *Studies in the Social Sciences*, vol. 14, no. 3). By WAYNE EDSON STEVENS, PH.D. (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1926. 204 p.)

Students of northwestern history will welcome this excellent monograph about the fur trade in the last half of the eighteenth century — the years in which the domination of France was being replaced by the enterprise of British and American traders, and the latter were dividing the spoils between them. Dr. Stevens has examined his sources with care and he has presented his conclusions in an interesting and readable form. He has drawn together information which has been made public in several recent books and articles upon aspects of the fur trade and he has made an important original contribution to our knowledge of the period. The material has been difficult to collect, for the Northwest in those years was connected by geography, by political allegiance, and by commerce with various centers, and the reports upon it are widely scattered. These have been carefully sought out, so far at least as they are accessible upon the North American continent, and a true synthesis has been made of the knowledge so gleaned. The result is a continuous narrative of the developing

trade and its influence upon the political division of western America. No trace of national prejudice is anywhere discernible, although the ashes of old controversies are frequently stirred. The excessive use of quotation and lengthy footnotes has been avoided, yet the work is carefully documented. The editorial work is good and the bibliography more than usually valuable, for it includes brief descriptive comments upon all the manuscript sources and upon many of the printed books. No maps are included — a real misfortune, for interesting contemporary maps and sketches must have been included among the documents which Dr. Stevens used. In such a study maps of the period are more illuminating than modern maps, because boundary discussions were settled by contemporary geographical knowledge. For example, the Mitchell map (Faden edition), which is known to have been used for the treaty of Versailles, shows with graphic clearness the prevailing ignorance about the sources of the Mississippi and explains the confusion in describing that section of the boundary.

In a few particulars the book is, perhaps, open to criticism. The present reviewer has found "Fort Chartres," rather than "Fort de Chartres" (p. 25), in contemporary documents, but the eighteenth century was not an age of punctilious spelling and proper names in America were notoriously variable. On page 70 Dr. Stevens gives rise to some confusion by stating that the British ministry agreed on September 1, 1782, that the boundary of Canada should be the narrow limits ascribed to the province before the Quebec Act. The ministry did not at any time go as far as this, although Oswald was ready to concede it. When the ministers mentioned the boundary of 1763, they referred to the line of the Alleghenies, which by the proclamation of 1763 separated the Atlantic colonies from the Indian reservation. By this suggestion the British parried the American demand for a line through Lake Nipissing; the boundary finally selected was a true compromise between these extreme claims. In the chapter on the organization of the fur trade, on pages 122 to 124, Dr. Stevens has described the "commercial hierarchy" in the fur trade, from the great London merchant to the "petty trader who bargained with the Indians in the wilderness, living more like a savage than a white man." One is left wondering how to find a place in this

system for such men as Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Alexander Henry, or even Peter Pond — genuine traders every one of them, who preferred the life of the prairies to the narrow respectability of a counting house. These names represent the western fur trade to many who never heard of the merchant princes of London and Montreal. If the explorer-trader had not been in a measure typical, the Canadian fur trade would not have been carried so far into the western territories. In this chapter the author has, perhaps, been tempted to simplify his facts too much, to classify too rigidly, and to present as comparatively permanent mere phases of development in a rapidly changing industry. Some of the obscurity noted on page 139 about the origins of the Northwest Company has been cleared away in an article by H. A. Innis, published in the *Canadian Historical Review* for December, 1927, where the beginnings of the company are traced back to 1775. But none of these suggestions invalidates any of the author's major premises; they may be more accurately described as comment than as criticism.

It would seem that Dr. Stevens used British sources only in so far as copies have been accessible in Canada and America. There is, of course, a wealth of material which has not yet been completely copied or calendared. One volume of the Hardwicke Papers in the British Museum (Additional MSS 35915) is a mine of information about the fur trade and the interests of the Canadian merchants. (Some of the correspondence has been printed by W. S. Wallace in his *Maseres Letters*.) Isolated documents in the Newcastle and Hardwicke collections are pertinent to this study. The Murray Papers, of which photographic facsimiles are on file in the Canadian Archives, contain some information not available elsewhere about the beginnings of British trade in the Province of Quebec. The *Appendix to the British Counter Case, 1912* has documents from private collections not at the disposal of the general public. And at the Public Record Office three series of documents would be of great interest in this connection. The reports from the commanders in chief in C. O. 5 give the best consecutive account of the western posts during the early years of Dr. Stevens' period. The commander in chief was jointly responsible with the superintendent of Indian affairs for the ad-

ministration of the western territories, and, except during certain years of the Revolutionary War, he received frequent reports from the officers in charge of frontier posts. The minutes of the Board of Trade with their subsidiary files are worth consulting for the years from 1763 to 1768, when the board was especially active. It is here, for example, that one finds the best clues as to the influence of the "Canada merchants" upon government policy. And, in connection with the treaty negotiations of 1782 and 1783, the Foreign Office records contain much more detailed information than is indicated in the formal treaty papers. The use of these and other British sources might have altered to some extent the emphasis in a discussion of the western fur trade; it would not have changed radically the conclusions to which the author has been led by the sources he has used. The history of British mercantile enterprise in Canada—which Dr. Stevens has discussed almost to the neglect of trade from the "old colonies"—would have been supplemented, and, especially, its political affiliations would have been made clearer. The "Canada merchants" in London were organized first in a charitable effort on behalf of the sufferers from the Montreal fire of 1765; they appeared frequently in correspondence about the redemption of French paper money in Canada; and they are referred to several times in the Board of Trade records. But, powerful as they were at intervals, they had little influence upon the territorial arrangements of 1783. These were determined by other considerations of foreign and domestic policy, and the merchants had to content themselves with securing favorable modifications of the terms in the subsequent Jay treaty.

A further use of British sources might have greatly enriched this study. The attempt to analyze those European issues which often determined the course of events in western America would have made as interesting reading for the European as for the American student. It was this feature more than any other which made the reputation of Alvord's *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*. It seems unfortunate that Dr. Stevens, who is an avowed disciple of Alvord, did not follow the same method. Some answer might then have been found for the more general questions which puzzle the reader after the last page of this book has been

turned. Why, for example, were the wishes of the merchants seriously considered by some ministries and ignored by others? The present study indicates the steadily growing wealth and power of the Canadian fur merchants. This is, of course, true, but some ministries were more sensitive than others to mercantile opinion. There were, moreover, different theories about British commerce. Economic opinion was changing; by many the enlargement of overseas markets was regarded as more important than the acquisition of new territory; the fur trade in American hands would accord with British interests, because American traders would buy British goods and the British taxpayer would be spared the expense of keeping up the western posts. It would be interesting to know how this conception of economic interest fluctuated with the opinion that ownership of territory was the only guarantee of continued trade. Government land policy was another important consideration. If, as Shelburne thought, crown lands might be used to solve revenue problems or to meet other obligations of the government, as, for example, the Loyalist claims, the ownership of the territory assumed a new aspect. Dr. Stevens has not tackled the relation of the fur trade to that most pressing of all considerations—the discovery in America of a source of revenue from which to meet the expense of administering the country. Was the fur trade in this respect an asset or a liability, and what attempts were made to tax it? And, to mention a still wider issue, how did the western fur trade reflect the gradual abandonment by France of her overseas possessions and commerce, as she became more absorbed in her internal problems? It would be unfair to imply that Dr. Stevens has not referred to these questions. He mentions them occasionally, but he nowhere gives them more than passing consideration. There is, certainly, a danger of sacrificing unity of treatment in discussing a subject in its broader aspects, but such matters give a book its wider public. Who is to discuss them in their relation to American history if American historians neglect them, and who but a few students of local history will be interested if wider problems are brushed aside? One feels, moreover, that Dr. Stevens could have done them justice, if only he had cared to widen the scope of his work.

MARJORIE GORDON JACKSON

*Robert Dickson, British Fur Trader on the Upper Mississippi: A Story of Trade, War, and Diplomacy* (A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty of the University of Minnesota in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of doctor of philosophy, 1926). By LOUIS ARTHUR TOHILL. (Mimeographed, 1927. 124 p.)

The long period of contact between the white race and the Indians upon the American frontier produced a unique and versatile type of person who was a combination of trader, diplomat, military leader, and administrator. So far the type has been nameless, as no single word or phrase seems to convey an adequate idea of this peculiar combination of activities, but among the group may be included such men as Sir William Johnson, John Stuart, George Croghan, Conrad Weiser, and lastly, Robert Dickson, who is the subject of Dr. Tohill's study. During the period from 1786 until 1823 the career of Robert Dickson was intimately related to the general history of the region of the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi Valley. In fact, the author quite frankly states that he has used the personality of Dickson as the central thread for a discussion of certain aspects of the history of the region in question. This method of treatment has to a certain extent been necessitated by the fact that many details of Dickson's life are missing, so that this work really is not a biography, but a history of a phase of frontier development with special emphasis upon the activities of one man.

Dickson's career in the Northwest conveniently divides itself into three phases. From 1788 until the outbreak of the War of 1812 he was interested primarily in the fur trade of the upper Mississippi. During the war he served in a combined military and diplomatic capacity among the Indians of the Northwest on the side of the British. His trade ruined, after the war he spent the remainder of his life endeavoring to repair his fortunes, being associated with Lord Selkirk in his Red River project.

Robert Dickson was a native of Scotland, but neither the exact date of his birth nor the date of his arrival in Canada is known. For a time he was in the employ of the Indian department of Canada, but by 1788 he was definitely embarked on the trade with the Indians, the center of his activities being the region

drained by the Minnesota River, although he and his associates also operated in a broad area in the upper Mississippi Valley. The nature of his activities during a considerable part of this period must be inferred in large measure from the general characteristics of the fur trade as it was carried on at that time. It is known, however, that he married an Indian woman, the sister of a Sioux chieftain, and this perhaps added somewhat to his understanding of the native psychology! He established a post on the eastern shore of Lake Traverse around the year 1800, which became his principal base of operations for the remainder of his life. Two of the most valuable chapters in Dr. Tohill's study are those which describe trade conditions and the organization and methods of trading companies on the upper Mississippi from 1788 to 1811. There are many interesting and valuable side lights on the business activities of the firm of Robert Dickson and Company, which are described at considerable length. The company did not meet with much success, owing to a variety of causes, one of which was the hostile attitude of the government of the United States. In fact, the trade of this region was far from prosperous during the years preceding the War of 1812.

The difficult subject of Indian relations in the Northwest is treated at some length and the author draws a telling contrast between the respective policies of the Americans and the British. In the light of his discussion it is easy indeed to understand why, upon the outbreak of hostilities in 1812, a great majority of the Indians sided with the British. The principal events of the war in the region of the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi are referred to, and Dickson's part therein is described. Dickson's aid proved invaluable. He served as a source of intelligence to the British military authorities, he helped to preserve the allegiance of the Indians to the British cause, and he participated actively in military operations. So important were his services that he was given a commission as agent for the Indians to the westward of Lake Huron.

The war resulted disastrously for Dickson, however. He found himself involved in disputes with the military authorities which resulted ultimately in his arrest. Though he subsequently demanded an investigation and as a result of it was vindicated,

he must have felt considerable bitterness at the lack of appreciation of his services. Furthermore, he found his trade ruined by the war.

With the conclusion of peace following the War of 1812, the government of the United States renewed its efforts to exclude British traders from the Northwest, and Dickson was one of those who found themselves face to face with the new policy. It was during this period of discouragement and readjustment that he became associated with the Earl of Selkirk, who was organizing a colony in the Red River Valley. Elaborate plans were devised whereby Dickson was to organize the fur trade in this region. A combination of untoward events led to the complete failure of his plans and after a period of apparently aimless wandering, he died suddenly at Drummond's Island, on June 20, 1823. In a very real sense, Dickson was a victim of those forces which were gradually transforming the northwestern frontier.

Dr. Tohill's volume is an admirable study and a real contribution to the history of the Northwest. There are a number of most illuminating passages in which the author analyzes the various forces that influenced the development of the Indian frontier. Examples are to be found in his comments on the Indian character (p. 59, 60) and in his statement of the contrast between the American and British Indian policies (p. 36-40). His opinion as to the historical significance of the fur trade is also extremely interesting (p. 102).

One wishes that the personality of Dickson stood forth more clearly, but the author has been handicapped by the scarcity of material relating to his life. The chapter on "The Northwest in the Peace Negotiations" does not add much to our knowledge of that subject, and it seems strange that the author nowhere refers to Updyke's *Diplomacy of the War of 1812*, which bears very directly upon his thesis. Most of the important published material has apparently been examined. In regard to the use of unpublished material, however, it does not appear altogether clear to what extent the resources of the Canadian Archives have been utilized. There are literally thousands of papers in this repository bearing upon the War of 1812 and Indian affairs during that period, and probably but a small fraction of them

contain specific references to Dickson. Yet one would infer from the preface that for the most part only those documents referring to Dickson had been selected. The reviewer must in justice admit, however, that the question raised in this connection is only hypothetical. He has noted no serious omissions in the story as it has been told. Moreover, only one who has had experience in research in this field can appreciate the difficulties and complexities of the task which the author has performed.

It is to be hoped that further studies of this character will appear from time to time. The entire subject of the contact between the white race and the Indians is badly in need of comprehensive and scientific study, and monographs like that of Dr. Tohill must necessarily furnish the basis for such a project.

WAYNE E. STEVENS

*The Dictionary of Canadian Biography.* Compiled by W. STEWART WALLACE, M. A., librarian of the University of Toronto. (Toronto, The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1926. iv, 443 p.)

*The Oxford Encyclopædia of Canadian History (The Makers of Canada Series, Anniversary Edition).* By LAWRENCE J. BURPEE, F. R. G. S. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1926. vi, 699 p. Chart, maps, illustrations.)

These two volumes, appearing in the same year, will prove very useful to all who have occasion to consult them. Though duplicating the dictionary to the extent of including biographical data, the encyclopedia has a much wider scope and so serves a different purpose. Even the bibliographical references for the entries found in both volumes are so frequently dissimilar that the two works should be used in conjunction. Moreover, the encyclopedia has many biographical sketches for which there are no parallel references in the dictionary and *vice versa*. Thus four names of interest in Minnesota history of the British régime — Jean Baptiste Cadotte, Cuthbert Grant, Archibald N. McLeod, and John Johnston — are to be found in the encyclopedia but not in the dictionary. In the latter an imperfect checking reveals the following persons of special interest to Minnesotans: William Morrison, Jean Baptiste Faribault, Aubert de la Chesnaye,

Joseph Bouchette, David Thompson, Norman W. Kittson, the two Alexander Henrys, Daniel Harmon, Henry Bayfield, Charles J. B. Chaboillez, and Edward Umfreville. The following names, among others, of both Canadian and Minnesota interest, do not appear in either work though surely of sufficient importance in Canadian history to be included: Father George A. Belcourt, Jean Baptiste Perrault, Robert Dickson, Father Albert Lacombe, and John Tanner.

So many and varied are the subjects considered in the encyclopedia that it is hard to find a field, however remotely connected with Canadian geography, history, or ethnology, that is not considered in one form or another. Thus the fur-trading companies are listed by name, individual Indian tribes are included, newspapers are found under their titles, place names are explained, battles and campaigns are described, and the special significance of individual religious orders is mentioned. Under such general topics as sailing vessels on the Great Lakes, *chansons* of French Canada, the Northwest Angle, maps, *courreurs de bois*, and Lake Superior may be found much of interest for Minnesota history. Not the least valuable part of these entries is the bibliographical references that accompany them in practically all cases.

G. L. N.

*George Rogers Clark; His Life and Public Services.* By TEMPLE BODLEY. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926. xix, 425 p. Illustrations.)

*George Rogers Clark; Pioneer Hero of the Old Northwest.* By ROSS F. LOCKRIDGE. (Yonkers and Chicago, World Book Company, [1927]. xxi, 210 p. Map and illustrations.)

*The Capture of Old Vincennes.* The Original Narratives of GEORGE ROGERS CLARK and of His Opponent GOV. HENRY HAMILTON. Edited, with introduction and notes, by MILO M. QUAIFE. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Company, [1927]. 231 p. Illustrations.)

In view of the growing recognition of the importance of the West in American history it is not strange that the sesquicentennial of the Revolutionary War should arouse considerable

interest in the western aspects of that struggle. A vigorous movement, supported primarily by Indiana but with hopes of a large appropriation from Congress, is under way for the elaborate celebration of the anniversary of the capture of Vincennes by George Rogers Clark and the erection of a permanent memorial at that place. That the western aspects of the Revolution were important, that Clark's march to Vincennes was heroic, that his services, especially in protecting the frontier and making possible the settlement of Kentucky, were valuable, and that these things are worthy of notable commemoration may all be admitted. Unfortunately, however, there is a tendency to go much further and to make extravagant claims concerning the greatness of Clark's character and military genius and the importance of his achievements. As the mythical Washington is being replaced by a more realistic Washington based upon critical scholarship, a mythical Clark appears to be emerging to take his place as the perfect hero of the Revolution.

Messrs. Bodley and Lockridge are both worshipers at the shrine of Clark; both have as their purpose to secure for their hero his rightful place in the sun of public esteem; and it is well known that such a purpose does not make for objective history. Mr. Bodley's work is elaborately documented and contains an extensive bibliography; but such important and scholarly works as Alvord's *Illinois Country*; his "Virginia and the West: An Interpretation," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June, 1916; and Phillips' *The West in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution* are ignored, presumably because their interpretations are out of harmony with those of the author. Mr. Lockridge, whose book is designed for use in the schools, tells a thrilling tale with touches of romance; even the thoroughly discredited story of the dance at Kaskaskia, which Mr. Bodley vigorously rejects, is presented as a "legendary account," with a picture of the scene and the implication that it may have been true — certainly the school children who read the book will have no doubts about the truth of the story. Both the authors are convinced that in the peace negotiations at Paris the astuteness of John Jay secured for the United States the fruits of Clark's "conquest of the Northwest" when poor old Franklin was about to lose them. They should read Dr. James Brown Scott's

"Historical Introduction," in the first volume of *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy* (1927).

Dr. Quaife's book is a reprinting of his edition of Clark's "Memoir," published by the Lakeside Press in 1920 for private distribution, with the addition of Hamilton's "Report of His Campaign and Captivity." The brief introduction is a much more conservative interpretation of Clark's Revolutionary career than those of the other books, but even Dr. Quaife characterizes Clark as "a veritable military genius." He uses the term "conquest" in connection with Clark's activities, but he also points out that "permanent control of the Northwest . . . could be won only by the capture of Detroit" and that Clark's campaign was only the beginning of a contest that was to continue until 1795. The reviewer would be inclined to substitute 1815 for this date. As this edition is intended for the general public rather than the scholar, no exception can be taken to the extensive revision of Clark's language, especially as the editor explains the process. One wonders, however, in view of the popularity of *Trader Horn*, if many readers might not prefer the quaint and forceful language of the original to the modernized version. It seems illogical, moreover, to revise Clark's work so extensively and to print Hamilton's *verbatim et literatim*. The reader who neglects the introduction will get the impression that Clark was more skillful than his rival with the pen as well as with the sword. Both accounts are interesting narratives and the book should find many readers.

SOLON J. BUCK

*Incidents of a Journey from Pennsylvania to Wisconsin Territory, in 1837: Being the Journal of GEN. WILLIAM RUDOLPH SMITH, U. S. Commissioner for Treaty with the Chippewa Indians of the Upper Mississippi. To which are added GEN. SMITH's Autobiography, 1787-1808, Letters Relating to the Commission, Brief Biographical Sketch, 1787-1868, by JOHN GOADBY GREGORY. (Wooster, Ohio, 1927. 82 p.)*

The mystery of what happened to the second of the two commissioners appointed to negotiate the treaty with the Chippewa

at Fort Snelling in July, 1837, is explained in this volume; he failed to arrive in time for the negotiations. In fact, General William R. Smith of Pennsylvania, who was to have been associated with Governor Henry Dodge of Wisconsin Territory in this great work of opening up to the citizens of the United States a vast tract of valuable pine timber, was on July 29, when the treaty was being signed at Fort Snelling, still a considerable distance below St. Louis on an Ohio River steamer bound for that city. It is, therefore, a bit surprising to one familiar with the treaty council to find General Smith announced on the title page of the volume under review as "U. S. Commissioner for Treaty with the Chippewa Indians of the Upper Mississippi," though the designation is technically correct.

The explanation for the delay, in the form of this journal of his trip — which might well be entitled "The Trials and Tribulations of a Traveler in a Hurry" — presents a really fascinating picture of the uncertainties, accidents, and delays of steamboat traffic in 1837. A night alarm of fire on the boat, occasioned by the proximity of curtains and bedding to a lighted candle in a lady's cabin, a grounding of the steamboat on a bar in the river with jolts that pitched the occupant of a lower berth out onto the floor and caused his cabin mate of the upper tier to drop through the bottom of his berth into that so unceremoniously vacated; an altercation between the mate and a deck passenger who refused to help "wood up," which sent the latter to the doctor with a face smashed by a billet of wood; a wrecked paddle box, whose flying boards menaced all the passengers in the vicinity; myriads of mosquitoes that hummed nightly; and numerous other incidents served to enliven the voyage. Fogs, bars, and prospective freight and passengers delayed the vessel, and the climax was reached at Cincinnati when the captain decided to end his trip at that point and unceremoniously transferred his passengers to another boat sailing for St. Louis twenty-four hours later. En route north from St. Louis the captain of the upper Mississippi River boat had to be bribed to continue his voyage from Galena to Prairie du Chien. At this place General Smith met Governor Dodge homeward bound after completing the treaty business, and accordingly, after

exploring the country as far as Madison, Wisconsin, he departed downstream again for St. Louis.

The journal has no doubt been modernized as to form and spelling for publication, and it gains in readability thereby, but some rather careless slips in proof-reading occasionally mar the reader's pleasure.

The autobiography of General Smith, prepared for his children, which precedes the journal, and the half dozen letters which form a sort of appendix to the book are interesting and valuable. The latter throw considerable light upon the difficulties and delays in communication in the thirties. More attention is being given nowadays to the matter of social history than formerly, and the more published travel accounts there are to work upon, the better.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK

*The Prairie and the Making of Middle America: Four Centuries of Description.* By DOROTHY ANNE DONDORE, PH.D. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, The Torch Press, 1926. xiii, 472 p. Illustrations.)

This book on the prairie is the first of a series of volumes in which the author plans to study the influence of the successive geographical frontiers — the forests, prairies, plains, mountains, and sea — upon American literature. Unlike Professor Turner she has chosen to put before the public a detailed bibliographical survey and analysis before presenting an interpretation of the literary significance of the frontier movement as a whole. This is certainly an ambitious program for one person to undertake.

The "prairie" is an inaccurate term with which to define the limits of this book, for in reality the author has anchored one edge of her net to the crest of the Appalachians and the other to the edge of the plains, while north and south it reaches from the international boundary to the Gulf of Mexico. All the literature relating to the country within these limits is drawn together to be critically summarized and evaluated. A goodly portion of the eastern and southern part of the territory, however, as well as the northern fringe, belongs to the forest frontier and it seems unfortunate that the author has so soon violated the excel-

lent division she proposes in her preface, especially since there is a real difference in mood between the literature of the forests and that of the prairies. A discussion of writings relating to the French and Indian Wars, the English advance across the Allegheny ridges, Boone and Kentucky, or even the settlement of Ohio, seems out of place in a work dealing with the prairie. At the same time the prairies of eastern Nebraska, eastern North and South Dakota, and western Minnesota are treated in scanty fashion, Dakota finding mention only in connection with Hamlin Garland. With a book that contains so much it seems ungenerous to discuss omissions. Since the author recognizes the importance of German-American literature, however, it would have been well for her to give some intimation of the immense amount of Scandinavian-American literature that is available. Another kind of writing that seems to receive inadequate attention from the author is biography, though few forms of literature are better capable of reflecting frontier life and thought.

So packed is the volume, however, that the reader is not allowed much chance to think of what may be lacking. A sixteen-page bibliography, closely printed, deals mainly with the critical and bibliographical treatments of the author's field. The titles of the tracts and other literary items discussed are found embodied in the text or in the footnotes. These items number many hundreds and have in all cases required reading or at least careful examination. The crowding of many items on a page often makes the work difficult to read despite the vivid and individual comments. This does not lessen the value of the work as a guide to the literature of the region and it is for that purpose that the book will probably be most used.

About half of the volume deals with descriptive literature of direct historical value — explorers' and travelers' narratives, guidebooks, emigrant manuals, and the like. Much of the rest of the book deals with imaginative literature. The value of the latter for social history — if carefully used — deserves emphasis, but there is an even greater value not so often recognized by the historian. Since literature is but the reflection of the mind of a people, the study of our frontier literature should be the way to a profound study of the results of the frontier experience upon

the American mind. Historians have given much attention to the economic and political influence of the frontier, and some attention to its social aspects, but the whole psychological reaction they have touched clumsily, if at all. Vague references to a pioneer spirit are frequently heard, but there is little analysis or understanding of what that spirit actually was. The mental life of the pioneer must be left in large part to the poet, the novelist, and the dramatist, since the historian has little time to deal with individuals who form the rank and file of movements. But the historian must be intimately acquainted with the creative writer's interpretations if he is to judge the complete results of certain experiences upon the life of a nation. Judged in this light Dr. Dondore's survey becomes of the utmost importance to the historian. The cumulative content of her successive books should have a tremendous effect upon the final interpretation of America's westward movement.

OLIVER W. HOLMES

"In Memoriam, Ezekiel Gilbert Gear, D.D., 1793-1874, Priest of the Episcopal Church and Pioneer Missionary of Christ in the United States. A brief sketch of his ministry." By CHARLES MASON REMEY. ([Washington, D. C.], type-written manuscript, 1927. 33 p. Illustrations.)

The erection of a new memorial chapel at Fort Snelling inevitably calls to mind the gallant first chaplain of the fort, Ezekiel G. Gear, and thus makes especially opportune the appearance of a short sketch of his life. This memoir has been issued in an "edition of 85 copies in manuscript, autographed" and is designed "for private circulation in historical public and ecclesiastical libraries in U. S. A. and church libraries in England." In the main it is based on such printed material as memoirs and genealogies, but the recollections of Gear's niece, the wife of Rear Admiral George C. Remey and the mother of the author, have been drawn upon to a considerable extent and lend an intimate touch that is wanting in the other sources.

Unfortunately this memoir, like everything else that has been written of Gear, is all too short to do credit to the intrepid missionary. Some day, it is to be hoped, a more complete biography

will be written, based more largely on such source material as his reports in the *Spirit of Missions* and in other Episcopal publications, and on the interesting and intimate letters to his bishop, now to be found among the Kemper Papers in the custody of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (See *ante*, 7: 266, n.) In the meantime the outline of his life may be found in this memoir, which stresses particularly his early work at Fort Snelling and his missionary work and hopes.

G. L. N.

*History of the Synod of Minnesota, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.* By MAURICE DWIGHT EDWARDS, D.D. ([St. Paul, 1927.] 427 p. Illustrations.)

Out of an intimate association with the Synod of Minnesota as its stated clerk for thirty years — from 1885 to 1915 — and out of a still longer pastorate with the Dayton Avenue Presbyterian Church in St. Paul the author of this volume has been able to draw valuable materials and interpretations which are probably available to no one else. While the professional historian might wish for a closer correlation between the development of Minnesota and that of the church and for a clearer indication of sources, he must remember that the author himself is an authoritative source of information and that the purpose of the book to trace the inner development of the synod sets aside some of the formal requirements otherwise applicable. It is indeed unfortunate that the wide range of topics suggested by the title could not be developed as fully as Dr. Edwards wished. As a single illustration of the possible complexity of the undertaking one should note that the Synod of Minnesota until 1885 included the Dakotas and that for a time Presbyterian work in northwestern Wisconsin was directed from St. Paul.

Beginning with 1834, when mission work was undertaken by Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond near Lake Calhoun, within the limits of the present city of Minneapolis, the organization of the book recognizes nine periods of development. The first division point is 1849, when the advancement of Minnesota to the status of a territory freed the mission work from the restrictions earlier placed upon it by governmental regulation of the entrance of

whites into Indian lands. In that year also the Reverend Edward D. Neill organized the First Presbyterian Church of St. Paul. The year 1858 marks the organization of the Synod of Minnesota (new school) only a short time after the creation of the state government. Until the end of this second period the development of the church is clearly parallel to that of the state. In 1860 the old school branch of the Presbyterian church organized its own synod in Minnesota and worked side by side with its sister church until the union effected by the general assemblies in 1869, which brought to an end the third period of development.

Beginning with the first phase of united work — from 1870 to 1880 — the author employs the formal division into decades. The subsequent titles and the appropriate dates are: "An Era of Expansion," 1881 to 1890; "The Closing Century," 1890 to 1900; "The Jubilee Decade," 1901 to 1910; "A Decade of Increasing Offerings," 1911 to 1920; and "The Present Decade," 1921 to 1927. The last chapter — "Some General Features of the Past" — might profitably include additional material in keeping with the title. The short biographical sketches which are included in the text will preserve much of the early Presbyterian church life. One can but regret that they are so short and so sketchy, for in a few years they may become priceless.

One feels that pardon should be asked for sinking a shaft into that vulnerable Achilles' heel toward which all reviewers direct their arrows — the index. Yet the omission of the name of the Reverend Edward D. Neill from the index is not paralleled by a similar omission from the text. There his importance to the state and to the church is fully recognized. Such accidental defects may seriously impair the usefulness of a book.

CHARLES J. RITCHIEY

*The Founding of the Augustana Synod, 1850-1860.* By GEORGE M. STEPHENSON, assistant professor of history in the University of Minnesota. (Rock Island, Illinois, Augustana Book Concern, 1927. 160 p.)

In the fifties, when American denominations were sadly divided by the slavery issue, the Lutheran church was also facing problems connected with immigration and doctrine. The European

addition led to the decisive defeat of the liberal movement among American Lutherans. European Lutherans have become more liberal, but American Lutherans remain prevailingly conservative. Two scholarly and impartial historical works dealing with the Lutheran crisis of the fifties appeared in 1927. One is V. T. A. Ferm's *Crisis in American Lutheran Theology: A Study of the Issue Between American Lutheranism and Old Lutheranism*. The other is the work under review. It was nationality and doctrine which led to the founding of the Augustana Synod, whose very name indicates conservatism.

Professor Stephenson's study deals with very small beginnings, but beginnings that are important because of the way in which they shaped the future. The work is not without interest to students of Minnesota history. One of the three conferences which united to form the Augustana Synod was the Scandinavian Minnesota Conference, organized in the year when Minnesota attained statehood. Had it not been for the sentiment which produced this union, the Scandinavian Lutherans in Minnesota might have joined their American and German brethren in the Minnesota Synod, which was also organized in 1858 and to which the author devotes one chapter. No one encouraged Esbjörn's policy of separation from the synod of northern Illinois more heartily than Norelius in Minnesota; the conservative and separatist spirit has always been strongly represented in this state. More than one-fourth of the membership of the Augustana Synod is still found in Minnesota, where the pastors of that synod minister to the spiritual wants of more than five per cent of the population.

The story of the founding of the synod has been told time and again from the viewpoint of the founders. There was another, and neglected, viewpoint, that of those leaders in the general synod whose leadership was discredited and rejected. Professor Stephenson has written the first account, based upon a thorough study of the available sources and fortified with numerous footnotes, which presents both sides fairly and fully. Facts are generally allowed to speak for themselves, the most outspoken criticism of the author being directed against Esbjörn himself. It is a sign of the times, and to the credit of the Augustana Book Concern, that it has seen fit to publish a work of this nature.

The author covers the ground briefly, but seems to supply everything that is essential. A full enjoyment of his volume presupposes previous knowledge of the subject. There is still room for future studies. In the issue of the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin* for March, 1928, the author supplies fifty-two pages of "illustrative documents," which will prove interesting if read in connection with the book under review.

CONRAD PETERSON

*Swedish-American Historical Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 1 (*Yearbooks*, vol. 12). Edited by GEORGE M. STEPHENSON. (St. Peter, Minnesota, The Swedish Historical Society of America, 1928. 96 p.).

The first number of the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin* presents an interesting combination of types of historical writing. It includes a presentation of documents, a commentary of Swedish travelers, a character sketch, and an historical narrative. The documents on the founding of the Augustana Synod in Rock County, Wisconsin, edited by George M. Stephenson, present some illuminating material on an important theological discussion which occupied the attention of the clergy and the theological students of the Lutheran church during the early sixties. There was a division in the Lutheran church into a conservative branch represented by the Scandinavians and a liberal branch represented by the Americans. This situation is quite analogous to the present division into Fundamentalists and Modernists. The discussion centered at Illinois State University at Springfield, a Lutheran institution, where the Reverend L. P. Eshjörn as the leader of the conservative forces became the chief target for adverse criticism. W. M. Reynolds, president of the university, Dr. S. W. Harkey, professor of theology, and the Reverend T. N. Hasselquist, editor of *Hemlandet*, also were involved in the discussion. The correspondence carried on between these individuals, which Dr. Stephenson has collected and edited, throws some interesting light on this vital subject.

The article entitled "A First Step Towards the Organization of Swedish Methodism in Minnesota, 1853-1863" by J. Olson Anders is a carefully prepared account of the early history of the

Swedish Methodist church in this region, together with its leading men and its organization during the period preceding the Civil War. It is written as an historical essay prepared from source material. An account is given of the work of Olof Gustaf Hedström and his brother Jonas as the founders and leaders in this movement. They soon gathered around them a number of followers who worked in the various communities and helped in establishing the various congregations in the West. The problem of carrying on missionary work among the Indians and later taking care of the church work for the early settlers and immigrants presented difficulties which all the religious denominations had to face and the Methodist part in this work is well presented in this article.

The article on "Fredrika Bremer's Predecessors" by Roy W. Swanson is unique, both as to material and manner of presentation. It is written in the form of a commentary on a number of works on travels, giving the leading works and their authors together with an estimate of their relative importance. A brief review is given of the works of Fredrika Bremer, who is the recognized commentator of Sweden upon America. It then goes on to give similar reviews of the works of Pehr Kalm, Israel Acrelius, Thomas Campanius Holm, Per Lindeström, Jasper Swedberg, Count Axel von Fersen, Axel Leonhard Klinckowström, Carl August Gosselman, Carl David Arfwedson, and P. A. Siljeström. The importance of the article lies in the fact that it calls attention to these works of travel and forms a good background for more extended study along this line.

The paper on "Doctor William Henschen" by C. G. Wallenius is a fine character sketch of a Swedish immigrant who served the greater part of his life as a Methodist minister in America.

The Swedish Historical Society of America has taken a forward step in publishing the new *Bulletin* in place of the old *Yearbook*. The material is well prepared and presented. One might, however, criticize the apportionment of material, since the present number has three articles dealing with religion and one with travels. As in most Swedish-American history, there is an over-emphasis on the religious phase. The publishing of historical essays along with the source material will do a great deal

to stimulate research in the general field and in a short time increase the scope of knowledge about the history of the Swedish people in America.

ERNEST B. GUSTAFSON

*Golden Jubilee of St. Mary's Parish, Sleepy Eye, Minnesota, 1926; Memorial Book.* By FRANCIS J. SCHAEFER, D.D. (New Ulm, Liesch-Walter Printing Company, 1926. vii, 151 p. Illustrations.)

This is a local church or parish history of unusual merit, for the author has culled his information from a wide variety of sources and he gives the book a general significance by placing the story of the parish in its general setting. He presents first a valuable historical account of the diocese of St. Paul, then a review of the history of Brown County, next a concise account of the history of the village of Sleepy Eye, and finally a well-arranged narrative of the past of St. Mary's parish, established in 1876. The social historian will be interested in Dr. Schaefer's analysis of the Catholic population of Sleepy Eye in the year when the parish was founded. The number of men, he states, reached about a hundred, many of them fathers of families. He continues:

The majority of them were of German origin; and they came from various parts of the former German empire, the Austrian monarchy or other German countries of Europe. Not all came directly from their old homes to this section of Brown county; not a few took up their abode first in other parts of Minnesota or of the United States. According to reliable information the immigrants from the German centers in Bohemia came directly to the regions around Sleepy Eye; while the others, as a rule, had been elsewhere for some time. A considerable minority of these Catholics, almost one-third, came originally from the British empire, the larger part from Catholic Ireland, one from England and two from Scotland. Without exception they all lived first in some other parts of America, either the United States or Canada, before they reached this territory. There were also two Catholics of French origin, who came from the French sections of Canada.

Following this statement Dr. Schaefer lists the names and the countries of origin of these original settlers, the "founders of the Catholic parish of Sleepy Eye," drawing his material from "the old parish books." Dr. Schaefer's book affords an excellent illustration of the importance of parish records as sources for the history of settlement. Such records form an invaluable supplement to the federal and state census schedules and they deserve to be preserved carefully, not only in the interest of the local church historian but also in that of the student of Minnesota and mid-western social history in general.

T. C. B.

## MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The seventh state historical convention under the auspices of the society will be held at Brainerd on June 13 and 14, upon invitation of the Crow Wing County Historical Society, seconded by the Brainerd chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the mayor, the chamber of commerce, and various clubs. The program of the first day has the following features: an automobile trip from St. Paul to the site of old Fort Ripley; a picnic luncheon followed by a paper or an address on the history of the fort; an evening session in Brainerd, held jointly with the League of Minnesota Municipalities, at which Dr. William Anderson, acting head of the political science department at the University of Minnesota, will speak on "Local Government and Local History"; and a water pageant arranged by the citizens of Brainerd. On June 14 the tour will be continued to Mille Lacs, with a luncheon and program at Vineland, where Mr. Irving H. Hart will read a paper on the Sandy Lake Chippewa and Mr. William E. Culkin, president of the St. Louis County Historical Society, will give an address on the explorer, Du Luth, who visited this Minnesota lake nearly two hundred and fifty years ago. The tourists will then drive to the Cuyuna Range, and a brief program will probably be given at Crosby, after which the return to Brainerd will be made. In the evening, at Breezy Point Lodge, some twenty miles out of Brainerd, those attending the historical convention will join the members of the league convention in a banquet, after which an address will be given by Bishop Bennett of Duluth.

Sixty-six additions to the active membership of the society were made during the quarter ending March 31. The names of the new members grouped by counties, follow:

BECKER: Rev. Benno Watrin of Ponsford.

BLUE EARTH: Horace W. Roberts of Mankato.

BROWN: Dr. William F. Rounds of Sleepy Eye.

CHISAGO: S. Bernhard Wennerberg of Center City.

DAKOTA: Tom Cooney of Hastings and Levi E. Day of Farmington.

HENNEPIN: John I. Bell, Russell M. Bennett, Lawrence J. Fish, George W. Harsh, Herbert Heaton, Mrs. Charles G. Hicks, Robert E. Macgregor, Mrs. Neely E. Pardee, William F. Rogers, Augustus L. Searle, Mrs. Albert W. Strong, and William C. Tubbs, all of Minneapolis.

KANABEC: John Augustson of Mora.

LYON: Rev. Nels L. Otterstad of Cottonwood and J. E. Richardson of Tracy.

MARSHALL: Mrs. Bernice P. Helland of Argyle.

MCLEOD: Spurgeon S. Beach of Hutchinson.

MOWER: Martin A. Nelson of Austin.

NICOLLET: Oscar J. Johnson of St. Peter.

OTTER TAIL: John Froslie of Fergus Falls.

PINE: Floyd A. Althaus of Hinckley.

POLK: Col. Charles Loring of Crookston.

RAMSEY: Fenton M. Blomquist, Ethel C. Brill, Dr. William C. Carroll, Emma P. Dieter, John K. Fesler, Dr. Charles W. Fogarty, Rev. Charles L. Grant, Theodore W. Griggs, Clifford L. Hilton, Dr. Muhlenberg K. Knauff, Andrew J. Newgren, John W. Norton, John A. Oace, Mrs. John G. Ordway, Mrs. Charles H. Putnam, Mrs. William W. Skinner, Ernest J. Stiefel, Mrs. Charles W. Stott, Mrs. John P. Upham, Mrs. Edwin White, and Mrs. John W. Willis, all of St. Paul; and Sherwood Hough of White Bear Lake.

RICE: Dr. James M. Murdoch of Faribault.

ST. LOUIS: George W. Atmore, Jonathan A. Noyes, Abbott M. Washburn, and Mrs. Jed L. Washburn, all of Duluth.

SCOTT: Frank H. Juergens of Jordan.

STEARNS: William W. Smith and Mrs. Albert G. Whitney of St. Cloud.

STEELE: Obed C. Ulland of Blooming Prairie.

WABASHA: W. P. Buckingham of Minneiska.

WASHINGTON: W. E. Easton of Stillwater.

NONRESIDENT: James D. Hill of River Falls, Wisconsin; Henry Swift Ives of Evanston, Illinois; Samuel M. Pedrick of Ripon, Wisconsin; Harold F. Peterson of Elkhart, Indiana; and Dr. R. E. Plath of Spokane, Washington.

The Crow Wing County Historical Society and the St. Paul chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution became institutional members of the society during the quarter ending March 31.

The public schools of Moorhead, the Edison High School of Minneapolis, Concordia College at Moorhead, and St. Mark's Parochial School of Shakopee have recently become subscribers to the publications of the society.

The society lost fourteen active members by death during the past quarter: George Rupley of Duluth, January 2; Henry Deutsch of Minneapolis, January 9; Benjamin F. Nelson of Minneapolis, January 11; Elisha B. Wood of Long Prairie, January 13; Clarence W. Alvord, who died at Diana Marino, Italy, January 24; Fendall G. Winston of Minneapolis, February 2; Charles M. Power of St. Paul, February 14; Fred L. Smith of Minneapolis, February 17; Dr. John G. Cross of Minneapolis, March 3; Julius Thorson of Benson, March 8; James A. Peterson of Minneapolis, March 9; George W. Garrard of Frontenac, March 27; Charles M. Harrington of Minneapolis, March 27; and James W. Falconer of Minneapolis, March 31.

The superintendent will be on leave of absence during July and the first half of August to teach in the summer session of Harvard University. One of the two courses that he will give is on "New Points of View in American History."

The assistant superintendent has been given a leave of absence from September 1, 1928, to August 1, 1929, to enable him to accept a fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation of New York for research in Norway on the history of Norwegian immigration to the United States. He will represent the society and read a paper at the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences at Oslo, in August. Mr. Verne Chatelaine, a teaching assistant in the history department of the University of Minnesota, has been appointed to fill the temporary vacancy caused by Mr. Blegen's absence and will take up his work on September 1. Mr. Chatelaine has done graduate work in history at the University of Chicago and the University of Minnesota and has had considerable experience as a history teacher in Nebraska.

Mr. Babcock, the curator of the museum, is on a leave of absence extending from February 1 to July 1 and is employing the time to carry on private historical research, primarily in the manuscript and other historical sources available in the collections of the society. He has interrupted his leave, however, to handle the arrangements for the state historical convention to be held in Brainerd in June. During Mr. Babcock's absence Miss Olive J. Clark, the museum assistant, is serving as acting curator.

The librarian, Miss Krausnick, has received a year's leave of absence, beginning July 1, for rest and travel.

The assistant superintendent represented the society at the twenty-first annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held in Des Moines, Iowa, from April 26 to 28, and read at one of the sessions a paper on "State Historical Agencies and the Public," which is published in the present number of the magazine.

A talk on "Father Hennepin and the Discovery of Minnesota" was given by Dr. Buck on March 19 at a meeting of the Nicollet assembly of the Knights of Columbus in Minneapolis. On February 27 Dr. Blegen attended a meeting in Faribault of the Rice County Historical Society and gave an illustrated lecture on "The Lure of Minnesota History." Dr. Nute gave illustrated talks on "Fur-trade Days in Minnesota" to the Monday Literary Club of St. Paul on January 3 and to the Minnesota chapter of the Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America in St. Paul on February 16. She also gave an illustrated lecture on "The *Voyageur*" before the Faculty Club of Hamline University on January 10. Other recent talks by Dr. Nute were on "The Sandy Lake Fort" before the General James Knapp chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Minneapolis on February 3; on "George Washington and the West" at a sectional meeting of the Federation of Women's Clubs in Minneapolis on February 18; and on "Pioneer Women in Minnesota" to the Maplewood Women's Club on March 13.

The next book to be published by the society will probably be the first volume of a two-volume work entitled "Minnesota in

the War with Germany," by Franklin F. Holbrook and Livia Appel of the war records division. Most of the volume is now in the hands of the printer and it is expected that the book will be ready for distribution in July or August.

The assistant superintendent attended in February a meeting in Chicago of the editorial and executive boards of the Norwegian-American Historical Association. While there he spoke on "The Present-day Study of the History of American Immigration, with Special Reference to the Work of the Norwegian-American Historical Association" at a dinner attended by members of the history department of the University of Chicago.

Among recent users of the manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society were a college professor, a brigadier-general, a Sioux Indian, a popular novelist, and a considerable number of university and college students. The number of readers from January 1 to March 31 totaled 78. During the same period the society's library served 1,577 readers.

Harper and Brothers of New York are planning to bring out a reprint in pamphlet form of the article entitled "The Literature of the Pioneer West" by Henry Commager, which was published in the December number of the magazine.

A paper on "Minnesota Public Documents" by Jacob Hodnefield, head of the accessions division of the society's library, appears in the March issue of *Library Notes and News*, the quarterly publication of the library division of the state department of education. Mr. Hodnefield first tells what public documents are, then considers how and what a library should select in this field of publication, how such documents may be secured, and finally how to handle them and to put them into circulation.

#### ACCESSIONS

Among the manuscripts recently received by the society, perhaps the most significant for its contribution to knowledge of the early history of Minnesota consists of the diaries kept by the Reverend Jedediah D. Stevens from September 9, 1829, to April 2, 1830, which, together with some other diaries and

papers of Stevens', have been presented by his daughter, Mrs. S. E. Williams of Minnewaukan, North Dakota. The importance of these diaries lies in the fact that they supply exact information about a trip made by Stevens and the Reverend Alvin Coe to Fort Snelling in 1829, with a view to inaugurating missionary work among the Indians, and recount hitherto unknown missionary activities of Stevens among the Chippewa in the upper St. Croix Valley during the ensuing winter.

The acquisition of some eight hundred sheets of photostatic copies of documents in the Indian office at Washington from the period of the late twenties and early thirties makes available for use in the society's manuscript division letters and reports of Indian agents, army officers, superintendents of Indian affairs, missionaries, and others in Minnesota and the Northwest—in short, a mass of communications on Indian affairs that went from the northwestern frontier to government officials in Washington.

A small collection of papers of Austin Willey, a prominent leader in antislavery and temperance movements in Maine, who settled in Northfield in 1857, has been presented by his daughter, Mrs. Emily Skinner of Northfield. Among the papers are the constitution of the Maine Anti-slavery Society and a letter from John Greenleaf Whittier addressed to "my old fellow worker in the noble cause."

A list of the chaplains stationed at Fort Snelling from 1825 to 1927 has been presented by the compiler, Major Frank C. Rideout, who is the present chaplain at the fort.

A manuscript of about twenty-five pages consisting of the reminiscences of Mr. Edward Season of Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, who lived at Cannon Falls most of the time from 1853 to 1861 and served as a private in the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry during the Civil War, has been received from Miss Mabel Marvin of Winona.

A sketch of the activities of the town-site company that founded Hutchinson in 1855 and planned the adjoining town of Harmony, written by a member, Mr. W. W. Pendergast, has been presented by Mr. E. E. Sugden of Yakima, Washington.

With this sketch Mr. Sugden also sent the society the manuscript of an address delivered in 1905 by Dr. Kee Wakefield at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Hutchinson.

A diary kept by Paul H. Rosendahl on the Sibley expedition of 1863 and in various camps in southern Minnesota during the preceding winter has been presented by his son, Mr. Oliver P. Rosendahl of Spring Grove, through the courtesy of the latter's brother, Professor C. O. Rosendahl of the University of Minnesota.

The Civil War diary of Thomas P. Gere of Chatfield, kept from the time of his enlistment in January, 1862, until his return to his home in May, 1865, has recently been added to the manuscript collection. The early entries contain amusing descriptions of a recruit's life at Fort Snelling. In March, 1862, Gere was ordered to Fort Ridgely, where on August 3 he recorded a brush with the Indians, a prelude to the great uprising of the Sioux that began on August 18. On November 16 Gere was ordered to "Dixie," and thereafter his account is one of marches, camps, skirmishes, sieges, and battles. He participated in twelve campaigns and eighteen battles, and in 1865 received the Medal of Honor from the secretary of war for bravery in action. Supplementing the diary for the period of the siege of Fort Ridgely is a paper of reminiscences written in 1911 from notes and recollections, presented by Gere's widow, who lives in Chicago. This paper tells of the founding of the fort, the events leading to the Indian outbreak, and the story of the siege.

A brief manuscript history of Winona has been presented by Mr. Orrin F. Smith of that city. In it he has woven together stories that he heard from the lips of early settlers, his own recollections, and excerpts from newspapers, and the result is an enlightening account of social conditions with emphasis upon such matters as Indian relations, pioneer amusements, a Christmas celebration, an averted duel, early schools, and a frontier wedding.

Some twenty-five pages of extracts and abstracts of material in the *Pilot*, a Catholic newspaper of Boston, relating to coloni-

zation enterprises in Minnesota from 1879 to 1886 have been presented by Professor James B. Hedges of Clark University. Special mention is made of the Sweetman colony at Currie in Murray County; of the settlements at Graceville, De Graff, Avoca, Woodstock, Pipestone, Fulda, Tracy, Marshall, Ghent, Adrian, and Iona; and of the work of the Irish Catholic Colonization Society. It is hoped that a file of the paper itself may ultimately be acquired and information about files that might be available would be much appreciated.

The Soldiers' Monument Association of Minneapolis has turned over to the society its record books covering the period from its organization, in September, 1915, to 1923. The association was formed by the various patriotic societies of women affiliated with the Grand Army of the Republic. The records consist of minutes, lists of members, addresses delivered at unveilings of monuments, and similar material.

A detailed account by Mr. Oscar L. Mather of Madison Lake of his experiences as a Red Cross worker, mainly in the year following the signing of the armistice, in Switzerland, Germany, Italy, Roumania, and Poland has been presented by the author.

Among several recent additions to the society's collection of objects illustrating pioneer agricultural methods and work are an ox yoke believed to have been used in 1854 to plow the first furrow in Steele County, and a pair of hames used there in 1860, received from Mrs. Frank W. Adams of Owatonna; and a grain flail from Mr. Charles E. Battles of Bemidji. Mr. Battles is also the donor of a spinning wheel and of a butteris—a steel instrument used in paring the hoofs of horses.

Recent additions to the society's costume collection include a black silk dress of 1882, received from Miss Elizabeth Underwood of Minneapolis; a wedding dress dating from 1884 of sea-foam faille and brocade velvet, from Mrs. Edwin S. Capen of Los Angeles; and a black velvet waistcoat dating from about 1850, from Mrs. Stella R. O'Brien of Rockford, Illinois.

An infant's cradle said to have been used by four generations since 1825 has been presented to the society by Mrs. Clarence Pratt of St. Paul.

One of a number of bronze medals made by Pierre Roche of Paris to commemorate the erection of the Peace Portal on the international boundary between the United States and Canada near Blaine, Washington, which was dedicated on September 6, 1921, has been presented by Mr. Samuel Hill of Seattle.

A copy of a volume entitled *Francis Drake and Other Early Explorers Along the Pacific Coast* (San Francisco, 1927. 290 p.) has recently been received as a gift from the author, Mr. John W. Robertson. Numerous extracts from the sources give a fine contemporary flavor to the account, which includes chapters on the "Indians of the Californias" and the "Jesuit Survey of Baja California."

Several hundred books and pamphlets, an assembled picture of the members of the state senate of 1891, and a shotgun used in the Indian Outbreak of 1862 have been received from the estate of the late Gideon S. Ives of St. Paul, through the courtesy of his son, Mr. Henry S. Ives of Evanston, Illinois.

#### SOME RARE SCANDINAVIAN EMIGRATION PAMPHLETS

Of special interest and value is a group of pamphlets relating to Scandinavian immigration to the United States in the late sixties and early seventies recently secured by the society from Norway. The pamphlets were originally collected by L. Knopf, an emigrant agent in Norway, who himself wrote one of them: *Veiledning for emigranter til Amerika* (Christiania, 1869. 31 p.). Knopf prepared this "Guide for Emigrants to America" after having conducted a group of approximately a hundred Norwegian and Swedish emigrants to America by way of Hull and Liverpool in the summer of 1868. He accompanied the emigrants from New York to Chicago and thereupon traveled about in Wisconsin and Minnesota. The subsequently prepared account combines a narrative of this experience with a general guide. It deals in careful detail with the emigrant's preparation and equipment for the journey, the trip from Christiania to Hull, the arrival at Hull, the arrival at Liverpool, the journey from Liverpool to New York, the arrival at New York, and the journey from New York to Chicago. Another pamphlet in the group, bearing the

title *Nogle strøbmærkninger om de Norske i Amerika og deres forholde* (Sarpsborg, 1867. 30 p.), was written by K. Throndsen, a Norwegian student who emigrated to America in 1864. His "Desultory Remarks about the Norwegians in America and Their Circumstances" was written in Decorah, Iowa, in the summer of 1867 and was first brought out in a newspaper of Sarpsborg. The author describes the problems of emigration by way of Quebec and gives a careful appraisal of the situation of the Norwegians in the West. Two pamphlets are from the pen of a Dane, Wilhelm Sommer. The first, published at Copenhagen in 1867, is entitled *Om udvandringen til Amerika i almindelighed og fra Danmark og Sverig-Norrig i sædeleshed* (23 p.), and the second, brought out at Copenhagen the next year, is called *Erindringer fra et ophold i Amerika* (122 p.). The latter, "Recollections from a Stay in America," is an interesting account of the author's experiences in the summer of 1866. He crossed on an emigrant ship and gives a good description of the voyage and the arrival in New York. There is an engaging chapter on "Bowling Green and Castle Garden," and most of the remaining material deals with New York City, including a diverting account of "A Tour Through Broadway." The pamphlet of 1867 is "On the Emigration to America in General and from Denmark and Sweden-Norway in Particular" and embodies the author's general observations on the subject. A. C. Boyesen's *Udvandrerens veileder og raadgiver* ("The Emigrant's Guide and Adviser"), published at Christiania in 1868 (131 p.), is a general guide, but gives special attention to Minnesota because, as the author states, "Minnesota takes the first place among the states to which the Scandinavian emigrants are going." A very rare pamphlet in the group is G. O'Hara Taaffe's *California som det er* (Copenhagen, 1869. 40 p.). Taaffe is described on the title page as consul for Denmark and vice-consul for Sweden and Norway in California. In the preface to this account of "California As It Is," the author, writing in May, 1869, at Copenhagen, states that he arrived in California eighteen years before that date and had been a miner and later a business man in San Francisco and had served as consul for ten years. His object in writing his account was not to stimulate emigration but simply to tell the truth about

California. The pamphlet is a well-rounded work of description in ten short chapters or sections. A pamphlet of special Minnesota interest is *Minnesota såsom hem för Emigranten* (Red Wing, Minnesota, 1869. 17 p.). This was issued by the state as a part of its activities for the promotion of immigration to Minnesota; it is a Swedish account of "Minnesota as a Home for Emigrants," with a foreword by T. B. Franklin, and it is based in part upon Hans Mattson's *Minnesota och dess fördelar för Indvandraren* (Chicago, 1867). There is a similar pamphlet in Norwegian about Wisconsin, issued in 1867 with a map by the board of immigration of that state (27 p.). This is a translation of the board's English pamphlet describing the state for prospective emigrants and was presumably prepared by John A. Johnson, a member of the board. The title page is missing. The collection includes another pamphlet entitled *Om udvandringen* (32 p.) by J. A. Johnson Skipnæs, who is identical with the previously mentioned John A. Johnson. This is a more general treatise "On Emigration" and deals especially with problems relating to the Norwegian emigration. Though the title page is missing and no date of publication appears, it is probably from the late sixties. Other items in the group are a copy of "Richardson's New Map of the State of Texas Corrected for the Texas Almanac to 1872"; a pamphlet in Norwegian (12 p. Map.) dealing with the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, but lacking a title page and any indication of date of publication; and finally a Union Pacific Railroad pamphlet of 1870, printed in Danish at Copenhagen, entitled *Vejviser til Union Pacific jernbanens land*. This "Guide to the Lands of the Union Pacific Railroad" gives thirty-two pages of information touching the land colonization plans of that road.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

The cause of American history suffered a great loss in the death of Clarence W. Alvord at Diana Marino, Italy, on January 27. Perhaps no one has done more than Professor Alvord to promote the scientific study of history in the Middle West. As the founder and for many years the editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, as the editor of numerous important volumes in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, as the author of several notable books of history distinguished not alone for mastery of detail but also for breadth of interpretation and charm of diction, and as an unusually stimulating teacher, he had an influence that was deep and wide. His friends—and they were many—will remember him not only as a great scholar but also as a brilliant conversationalist and a genial personality. It is interesting to recall that the first article published in the present magazine was a lucid exposition by Professor Alvord of "The Relation of the State to Historical Work," which he presented at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1915. In 1920, after many years of service as a teacher of history at the University of Illinois, he joined the faculty of the University of Minnesota, and from 1921 until 1924 he was a member of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society. After his removal to Minnesota he wrote two additional articles for this magazine, one entitled "Mississippi Valley Problems and the American Revolution" and the other "When Minnesota Was a Pawn of International Politics," both of which he read at meetings of the society—the latter at a council meeting and also in Duluth at the first of the society's series of state historical conventions. Professor Alvord also contributed a number of reviews to the magazine, one of which was written after he had severed his Minnesota connections and gone to Europe, where he spent the last four or five years of his life. A short biographical sketch of Professor Alvord by Dr. Solon J. Buck will be included in the first volume of the forthcoming "Dictionary of American Biography" and a more extended account by the same

author, with a bibliography of Professor Alvord's published writings, is planned for the December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

In an article on "The Nature of Historical Repetition" in the English magazine *History* for January, Professor E. W. Adams suggests that perhaps the saying that "history never repeats itself" is one of those "too 'blunt' truths which require sharpening a little before we can work with them." He suggests modifying it thus, "History repeats itself with a difference. . . . The onward march of events, in its roll down the centuries, behaves like" a snowball and "picking up and incorporating the events in its path, it turns about with an ever-increasing diameter." The new event may be like the old, "yet it is unlike it because the old has been, as it were, incorporated and digested by the new and forms part of the tissue of the new."

"History is the record of all that the senses of man can perceive and all that the intellect of man can apprehend." With this broad definition Dr. John Fortescue opens a suggestive little volume on *The Writing of History* (New York, 1926. 74 p.).

A paper of special interest read at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Des Moines in April was that by Dr. Louise P. Kellogg, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, on "Robert Rogers and Jonathan Carver." Using the copies of Carver's journals belonging to the Minnesota Historical Society and made from the originals in the British Museum, Dr. Kellogg offered a new interpretation of the backgrounds of Carver's explorations. It is understood that the paper will be published in an early number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. The presidential address of the association, given by Dr. Joseph Schafer, was a scholarly historical estimate of "Carl Schurz, Immigrant Statesman." A paper of special Minnesota interest was given by Mr. J. R. Starr, of the University of Minnesota, on "The Northern Overland Route from Fort Abercrombie to the Coast," a study based to a considerable extent upon early Minnesota newspapers. Other papers of interest for the Middle West were on the "Efforts of the Grange in the

Middle West to Control the Price of Farm Machinery," by Arthur H. Hirsch; and "The Influence of the Army in the Settlement and Development of the Mississippi Valley," by Major Thomas J. Camp.

A bill authorizing the appropriation of \$125,000 for the printing of official papers in the federal offices at Washington pertaining to the territories from which the states of the Union have been created passed the Senate in February.

A valuable contribution to American Indian lore is made in *L'Art et la Philosophie des Indiens de L'Amerique du Nord* by Hartley Burr Alexander (Paris, 1926. 118 p.).

Charming Indian legends and stories make up a volume entitled *Indian Moons* by Winona Blanche Allanson (Minneapolis, 1927. 63 p.). The author is a great-granddaughter of the noted Minnesota trader, Major Joseph R. Brown, and through his wife, Suzanne Frenier, is descended from "Wenonah, daughter of Waanatan, of the dynasty of Red Thunder, head chief of the Confederated Sioux nation."

Miss Frances Densmore of Red Wing gave an illustrated lecture on the "Music of the American Indian" before members of the Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts on February 21. As illustrative material Miss Densmore employed Indian songs and musical instruments used in tribal ceremonies as well as slides picturing Indian life.

Mr. William B. Bartlett is the author of an account of the "Sioux-Chippewa Feud," based for the most part upon William W. Warren's "History of the Ojibways,"—instalments of which have been appearing in the *Daily Telegram* of Eau Claire, Wisconsin, since March 3. The beginnings of the Chippewa invasion, which brought the tribe as far west as La Pointe, are described in the first article; others deal with some of the clashes of the Sioux and the Chippewa around Lake Superior, the great battle of the rival tribes at Mille Lacs, and the part played by the Chippewa in the conspiracy of Pontiac.

A concise sketch of the life of Henry R. Schoolcraft, contributed by Floyd B. Streeter to the October, 1927, issue of the *American Collector*, is followed by a bibliography of Schoolcraft's writings made up of nearly forty titles. An interesting portrait of the explorer appears as the frontispiece to the number.

*The Westward March of American Settlement* by Hamlin Garland (Chicago, 1927. 35 p.) is a reading guide issued by the American Library Association. In the list of "recommended books" one misses Professor Frederick J. Turner's *The Frontier in American History*. Among the novels listed are Eggleston's *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, Churchill's *The Crossing*, Owen Wister's *The Virginian*, and Garland's own *Trail-makers of the Middle Border*. Professor Frederic L. Paxson's *Last American Frontier*, but not his more recent *History of the American Frontier*, is included, and also Roosevelt's *Episodes from "The Winning of the West."*

A course dealing with "The Frontier in American History" is to be taught by Mr. A. B. Morris in the summer session of the Mankato State Teachers College. In the February number of *School Progress*, a journal published by that college, Mr. Morris has a suggestive article entitled, "Teaching Children to Interpret History."

*A History of Ira, Vermont* by Simon L. Peck, "Town Clerk for Over Forty Years" (Rutland, Vermont, 1926) is of Minnesota and western interest because the author appends to his account of the local history of Ira a section entitled "The Author's Early Experiences upon the Plains and the Rockies of the Great West during the Years 1866-1867" based upon a contemporary diary. This is a colorful narrative of Peck's western experiences, which began in the spring of 1866, when he joined at Shakopee, Minnesota, a train of emigrants bound for the gold mines of Montana. The organizers of the party were Harrison J. Peck and L. M. Brown, law partners in Shakopee. "It took about two weeks for these two men to organize and bring together a bunch of 150 men and some 75 wagons with two yokes of oxen to each wagon, very few wagons having only one yoke. There

were only four women in the whole outfit. Many of the men had seen service in the western armies during the Civil War, and were veterans in the use of the rifle and accustomed to service as fighters against Indians, and were not easily disturbed where danger seemed to threaten." The train started about the first of June and "moved in two columns, one wagon behind another and the columns about 40 feet apart." The author continues with an interesting account of Indians and buffalo and of experiences on the march. "From the time we started in Minnesota until we reached the valley of the Prickly Pear River and the city of Helena upon the western side of it," he writes, "we were on the road about 100 days and covered a distance of some 1300 miles and without the loss of a man." Peck left Montana in 1867, making the first lap of his return to Vermont by way of the Missouri River.

Under the heading "Mining Isle Royale for History," an editorial in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 22 calls attention to the archeological researches that are being conducted by the universities of Michigan and Chicago in the old copper workings on the island. The writer ventures the suggestion that "It is not outside the bounds of reason that these copper workings of Isle Royale may be found to have been an enterprise of Old World men, rather than of some prehistoric people native to North America."

"My Memories of Rafting Days on the Old Mississippi" is the title of a vivid article by Charles Edward Russell in the November, 1927, issue of the *New Age Magazine*. The author lived as a boy at Le Claire, Iowa, and describes rafting and steam-boating on the river as he observed them a generation ago.

The *Catalogue of the Centenary Exhibition of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad 1827-1927* (Baltimore, 1927. 210 p.) contains a mass of valuable information, largely in explanation of specified and numbered exhibits, relating to the mechanical aspects of the progress of railroading in the United States. Minnesota is represented by a detailed statement about "William Crooks and Train." The famous locomotive that on June 28, 1862,

hauled the first train to run from St. Paul to St. Anthony was displayed at the exhibition, which was held near Baltimore in October.

"What It Has Cost to Build America" is the title of a striking brief article by Professor O. E. Rölvaag, the author of *Giants in the Earth*, published in *Nordmands forbundet* for March.

*Nordamerika: natur bygd och Svenskbygd* by Helge Nelson (Stockholm, 1926. 523 p.) is a valuable study of American geographic, economic, and social conditions by a well-known Swedish scholar. Special attention is given to the Swedish settlements in the United States.

An interesting diary kept by Søren Bache, a Norwegian immigrant in the Middle West, principally in Wisconsin, from 1839 to 1847 is being published in monthly installments in the magazine *Norsk ungdom* of Minneapolis, beginning with the January issue. The original of the diary has been turned over to the library of St. Olaf College in Northfield and it is understood that an English translation will be brought out by the Norwegian-American Historical Association.

The Kensington rune stone has been purchased from Mr. Hjalmar R. Holand by a group of Douglas County men for the sum of \$2,500 and is at present being kept in Alexandria, according to an announcement in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 18.

"When the Rune Stone Went Abroad" is the title of a very interesting article in Norwegian by Hjalmar R. Holand, published in the 1927 issue of *Jul i vesterheimen* (Minneapolis). Mr. Holand tells of his experiences in 1911, when he took the Kensington rune stone to Rouen, France, and Christiania, Norway. He gives his attention, not to the opinions of the European experts who examined the famous inscription, but to the many and amusing incidental experiences that he had on the trip. In the same number of *Jul i vesterheimen* appears an excellent article on the "career of Paul Hjelm-Hansen, the Norwegian journalist who "blazed the way" for Scandinavian settlement in the Red River Valley, by Carl G. O. Hansen, illustrated by a view of the

plaque in honor of Hjelm-Hansen that now hangs on one of the walls of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Plans for establishing a Scandinavian museum at the University of Minnesota were discussed at a meeting held on the campus on March 20. It was attended by representatives of the various libraries and museums of the Twin Cities and by Mr. C. A. Parker, director of the municipal museum of Rochester, New York.

*Saga islendinga i Nordur-Dakota* by Thorstina Jackson (Winnipeg, 1926. 474 p.) is a valuable study, in Icelandic, of the Icelandic colonies in North Dakota. Most of the volume is devoted to biographical sketches, though the introductory material furnishes a general setting and traces the connections of the Dakota settlements with the rest of the world. It is to be hoped that the book will be made available to a larger circle of readers through the publication of an English edition.

A brief article entitled "Finnish Co-operators in America," which appears in *The Interpreter* for March, devotes some attention to the success of the Finns in "consumers' mutual help" in Cloquet.

A recently published volume on *The Germanic Influence in the Making of Michigan* by John A. Russell (Detroit, 1927. 415 p.) illustrates excellently the possibilities in studies of given racial influences within a restricted area. Dr. Russell, who is dean of the school of commerce and finance of the University of Detroit, is not himself of German origin; he wrote his book as a "modest contribution to community good nature and understanding" in an attempt to correct some of the wrong impressions left by the World War. The forty-two chapters of the book are followed by a detailed bibliography.

A valuable study of "The Political Activities of the Dutch Immigrants from 1847 to the Civil War," by Henry S. Lucas, appears in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April.

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March prints a very interesting address by Mrs. William C. Lounsbury given on November 11, 1927, at the dedication in Superior, Wisconsin, of a

tablet commemorating the location of the first building in Superior and the "beginning of the military road which was to link the more settled communities about St. Paul with this new country." The initiative in the establishment of Superior was apparently taken by Colonel Daniel A. Robertson, Rensselaer R. Nelson, and Daniel A. J. Baker of St. Paul, who went to Superior and made land claims that would give them control of the harbor, a step taken in June, 1853, after the digging of the ship canal at Sault Ste. Marie had been started. "In January, 1854," according to Mrs. Lounsbury, "only seven claim shanties had been built, yet in the convivial celebration of New Year's Eve, 1853," when rival factions of land claimants in Superior were on friendly terms, "Judge Baker proposed that they join and cut a road through to the St. Croix River. He said: 'We all must use it in getting to the land office at Hudson and in obtaining our mail and provisions. I will furnish the supplies if the rest of you will do the packing, cutting, and logging.'" Mrs. Lounsbury states that on January 2, 1854, "fourteen choppers set to work to cut a trail twenty feet in width for fifty-seven miles through dense forest to Chase's Camp on the St. Croix." A St. Paul newspaper on February 18 reported that a party had come through on the new road. Later Henry M. Rice secured a Congressional grant of twenty thousand dollars to complete and to provide bridges for the trail thus created.

A careful study of *The Northern Boundary of Indiana* by Mrs. Frank J. Sheehan has been issued as volume 8, number 6, of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications* (Indianapolis, 1928. p. 289-321).

An interesting account of "The 'Anson Northup,'" the first steamboat on the Red River, appears in the *Beaver* for March. Some items of information are drawn from the files of the *North-West* of Fort Garry, later Winnipeg.

An article on "Fort Mandan, 1804-6," based upon field notes made in 1927 by A. L. Truax and O. G. Libby, appears in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* for October. Another contribution to the number is an account of "Father George Antoine Belcourt, Red River Missionary," a translation from a study by

Judge L. A. Prud'homme originally brought out in French in the *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada for 1920. The first installment of the story of "Steamboating on the Red River of the North" from 1859 to its decline in the early eighties is presented by Captain Fred A. Bill in the January issue of the *Quarterly*. The article is apparently based upon the paper read by Captain Bill at the state historical convention held at Redwood Falls in 1923, a report of which appears *ante*, 5: 272-275. Another valuable article in the January number is "The Frontier Army on the Missouri River, 1860-1870," by Raymond L. Welty. Special attention is given to expeditions from Minnesota westward in the sixties and to the military protection established over the routes between Minnesota and the Missouri River. In the same issue of the magazine Mr. Dana Wright continues his series of articles on "The Sibley Trail," and there is an interesting account of "Pioneer Days in North Dakota" by Mrs. H. E. Crofford, who settled at Fargo in 1871 and went to Jamestown to teach school three years later.

A diary portraying vividly the experiences of a French soldier in the Dakota country in the late sixties has recently appeared in Paris under the title *Vie militaire dans le Dakota; notes et souvenirs (1867-1869)*, by Comte Régis de Trobriand (1926. 407 p.).

*Rekindling Camp Fires: The Exploits of Ben Arnold (Connor), (Wa-si-cu Tam-a-he-ca), An Authentic Narrative of Sixty Years in the Old West as Indian Fighter, Gold Miner, Cowboy, Hunter and Army Scout*, edited by Lewis F. Crawford (Bismarck, North Dakota, 1926. 324 p.), is a thrilling story of adventure in Dakota and the West after 1863, with occasional Minnesota connections. For example, in 1872 Arnold spent some time in Mankato and happened to be in that city on election day, when, so he says, he and a companion were employed by a certain candidate for office "to get voters drunk, then bring them in to the polls with ballots marked for them." Arnold continues: "This, of course, was long before the Australian ballot system came into use. The pay we were getting from him was so much better than we could earn chopping wood that in our zeal to

give value received we both voted in each of the two wards of Mankato. We had not been in that vicinity over ten days and of course were not entitled to vote at all."

A popular volume of sketches dealing with the pioneer history of South Dakota is *The Black Hills Trails: A History of the Struggles of the Pioneers in the Winning of the Black Hills*, by Jesse Brown and A. M. Willard, edited by John T. Milek (Rapid City, South Dakota, 1924. 572 p.).

*After Fifty Years: A Brief Discussion of the History and Activities of the Swiss-German Mennonites from Russia Who Settled in South Dakota in 1874* by John J. Gering (Marion, South Dakota, 1924. 58 p.) includes an account of a preliminary examination of lands in Minnesota, Canada, and Dakota.

A source of great value for the early history of Montana and the West is *The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen, Pioneer of the Northwest, 1850-1871, Embracing his Purchase of St. Mary's Mission; the Building of Fort Owen; his Travels; his Relation with the Indians; his Work for the Government; and his Activities as a Western Empire Builder for Twenty Years*, edited by Seymour Dunbar and Paul C. Phillips (New York, 1927. 347, 367 p.).

Among the subjects of doctoral theses in Canadian history and economics, a list of which appears in the *Canadian Historical Review* for March, may be noted the following: "Canadian Immigration to the United States," by J. E. Conn (Columbia); "Proposals for the Annexation of Canada to the United States," by Mary E. Fitro (Johns Hopkins); "The Fur Trade and the Northwest Boundary," by L. B. K. Lesley (California); "British Indian Policy in Canada, 1759-1812," by R. O. MacFarlane (Harvard); "The Unused Land of Manitoba: A Survey of the Physical, Economic, and Social Factors of Land Settlement," by R. W. Murchie (Minnesota); "The History of the Settlement of the Red River District," by J. P. Pritchett (Queen's); "The Great Lakes as a Factor in Immigration and Settlement," by F. L. Sawyer (Michigan); "The Administration of the Government of Canada, 1763-1774," by S. M. Scott (Michigan); and "The

Movement for the Annexation of Canada, 1865-1872," by J. P. Smith (Chicago).

*The Old Forts of Winnipeg (1738-1927)* is the title of a careful study by Dr. Charles N. Bell, president of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, issued in pamphlet form as number 3 in the new series of *Transactions* of that society (May, 1927. 39 p.). Dr. Bell discusses Fort Maurepas, Fort Rouge, Legardeur de St. Pierre's fort, Fort Bruce and Boyer, Alexander Henry's "The Fork's Fort," Fort Gibraltar, Fort Douglas, Fidler's Fort, the first Fort Garry, and the second Fort Garry.

The story of Father Albert Lacombe, an influential missionary in the Canadian Northwest, who passed through St. Paul on his way to the Pembina country in 1849, is told in the Catholic magazine *Columbia*, for February in an article entitled "One Man's Work for Canada," by Joseph Gurn. An extended biography entitled *Le père Lacombe, "L'Homme au bon Coeur," d'après ses mémoires et souvenirs*, by "une soeur de la Providence," was published in Montreal in 1916 (547 p.).

#### GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

*An Illustrated Catalogue of Indian Portraits Followed by Portraits of Scouts, Guides, Generals, Etc., All Painted by Henry H. Cross*, with brief explanatory notes by Mr. R. H. Adams, has been issued by the T. B. Walker Art Galleries of Minneapolis, (1927. 120 p.). It is interesting to observe that Cross, who was born in New York state in 1837, visited Minnesota as early as 1852. "He accepted a position with a traveling circus, and in the summer of that year visited St. Anthony (Minneapolis) and made a fine sketch of the falls with an Indian Encampment and a christening on the west shore." Mr. Adams states that the artist was also in Minnesota "in the summer and autumn of 1862 and made life sketches of Little Crow, Little Shakopee and more than forty other Indians who took part in the uprising including the 38 executed at Mankato, Dec. 26, 1862." The portraits in the Walker Art Galleries were painted during the last ten years of the artist's life on commission from Mr. Walker and on the basis of Cross's earlier sketches. In the *Catalogue* there are re-

productions of 109 paintings, all but one of them portraits, each accompanied by useful biographical or other data. Among the subjects of special Minnesota interest are Henry H. Sibley, John C. Frémont, Little Six, or Shakopee, Little Crow, John Other Day, Hole-in-the-Day, and Cut Nose.

An interesting historical account of the activities of the mounted police of Canada from 1873 to the present is given in a volume entitled *The Silent Force* (New York, 1927. 383 p.), by T. Morris Longstreth.

In a series of miscellaneous letters published in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1926-27 (vol. 60, p. 82) is a letter dated November 1, 1822, from General E. P. Gaines to Colonel Josiah Snelling, the commander at Fort St. Anthony, later Fort Snelling. The letter, which was written on the "Mississippi river near the lower mouth of Blak river," shows that the writer had been a visitor at the fort, for he says, "I owe Mrs. Snelling a thousand thanks for the care and kindness with which she contributed to make me forget that since my arrival at St. Anthony I have been in a wilderness." Fort Gaines, later Fort Ripley, received its first name in honor of General Gaines, who had distinguished himself in the War of 1812 and in Indian wars in the South. The trip to Fort St. Anthony in 1822 was probably undertaken for the purpose of an official inspection of the fort.

The Bar Association of St. Louis, Missouri, has issued a book entitled *Walter Henry Sanborn: A Testimonial Volume* (St. Louis, 1927. 180 p.), a review of which will appear in an early number of this magazine.

The bureau for research in government of the University of Minnesota has brought out as number 8 of its *Publications* a valuable pamphlet entitled *A System of Classification for Political Science Collections, with Special Reference to the Needs of Municipal and Governmental Research Libraries*, by William Anderson and Sophia Hall Glidden (Minneapolis, 1928. 188 p.).

A plant and animal group showing a bit of Minnesota prairie as described by the artist-explorer, George Catlin, after his visit

to the pipestone quarries in 1836, has been reconstructed in wax for the zoölogical museum of the University of Minnesota. A number of rare birds and plants, no longer found in Minnesota, are to be seen in the group.

In commemoration of the services of the Reverend Ezekiel G. Gear, pioneer chaplain at Fort Snelling, the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America has contributed the sum of one thousand dollars to the building of the new chapel at the fort. Memorial tablets to the chaplain will be placed in the chapel and in the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour at Faribault, according to an announcement in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 16.

The growth and decline of the lumber industry in Minnesota, including the development of the paper mills in the northern section of the state, are traced in the introduction to an interesting account of forestry in Minnesota published in the *Duluth News Tribune* for March 9.

*Forest Fires in Minnesota*, by J. A. Mitchell of the Lake States Forest Experiment Station, is a valuable report on the forest fire problem and contains considerable information on forest fires of the past. The report is published under the auspices of the state commissioner of forestry and fire prevention in coöperation with the forest service of the federal department of agriculture (74 p.).

A monument commemorating the services of General William Colvill as commander of the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War is to be erected at Cannon Falls. Plans are under way for its dedication on July 29 by the Minnesota National Guard.

A pamphlet entitled *The Court Proceedings in the Trial of Dakota Indians Following the Massacre in Minnesota in August, 1862* has been brought out by Marion P. Satterlee (Minneapolis, 1927. 83 p.). The data given are notes taken by Dr. William W. Folwell from the original trial records in the Senate archives at Washington in 1909. Since then the Minnesota Historical Society has acquired complete photostatic copies of the records

preserved at Washington, and students of the subject will find it desirable to consult them or the originals.

The credit for designing the first example of the "new structural form" known as the skyscraper is given to Mr. Leroy S. Buffington of Minneapolis in an article entitled "America's Great Gift to Architecture" by Harvey Wiley Corbett, published in the *New York Times Magazine* for March 18 as the "last of a series of five inquiries into the state of culture in America." The writer records that "In 1880 a Minneapolis architect, Leroy S. Buffington, conceived the idea of building a huge edifice in which the veneer of masonry would be carried on shelves jutting out from a braced steel frame at each floor, thus eliminating heavy masonry at the base to carry the load. By 1883 he had completed a design for a twenty-eight-story building embodying the principle. . . . In a single bound architecture was freed from the shackles of stone-weight and made flexible beyond belief." A picture of Mr. Buffington's design appears with the article.

Dr. C. Eugene Riggs is the author of an interesting contribution to the medical history of the Northwest entitled "The Reminiscences of a Neurologist," which is published in *Minnesota Medicine* for January and has also been issued as a reprint (11 p.). When Dr. Riggs arrived in St. Paul in 1881 he "found actively functioning a Medical School—'The St. Paul Medical College.'" He records that though it was "humble in its beginning, situated over a saloon on West Third Street, yet after a period of evolutionary travail, it ultimately became the Medical School of the University of Minnesota, today the only medical school in Minnesota." Pictures of the members of the "first faculty of the University of Minnesota Medical School" and of the early medical buildings on the campus accompany the sketch.

Stories of the Minnesota blizzard of January 7, 1873, are recalled by the pioneers of a number of Minnesota communities in articles published in the *New Ulm Review* of January 11, the *Morton Enterprise* of January 19, and the *Sacred Heart News* for January 26 and February 2.

## LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

"Old Doc Weeks" is the title of a pamphlet of eight pages issued by Harry P. Phillips of Detroit Lakes, embodying a brief manuscript written by the late Dr. Leonard C. Weeks of that city, telling about himself in his relation to the community in which he lived. This autobiographical fragment, in which the author refers to himself as the "Old Doc," is mellow with wisdom and warm with affection for his friends.

Mrs. Claude Marble is the author of an account of the "Early Settlement of Decoria Township," in the *Blue Earth County Enterprise* of Mapleton for February 3. Some of her material was secured from Mr. S. G. Larkins of Mankato, who settled in Decoria in 1865.

Extracts of historical interest from the manuscript records of the county commissioners of Brown County, selected by Mr. Louis G. Vogel, are appearing in the *Brown County Journal of New Ulm* on the third Friday of each month. The first installment, published on February 17, begins with the earliest record of a meeting of the commissioners, that for September 9, 1856.

A series of articles entitled "Chaska, the Old Home Town" by James Faber begins in the *Weekly Valley Herald* of Chaska for January 26. The first article has for its subject "Carver County, the Primitive," and others deal with Indians, traders, explorers, settlement, pioneer social life, and early transportation.

Among the local history sketches published serially in the *Waconia Patriot* are an account of the Moravian group at Laketown which began with the organization of a church in 1858, in the issue of January 26; an outline of the early history of Cologne, published on February 23; and an account of a trip through Carver County in 1859 by Colonel John H. Stevens, reprinted in the issue of March 1 from the *Glencoe Register* of August 15, 1859.

Plans are under way at Center City for the celebration in May, 1929, of the "seventy-fifth anniversary of the first permanent Swedish settlement in the Northwest, and of the founding

of the local church, as well as the seventieth anniversary of the organization of the Minnesota Lutheran Conference of the Augustana Synod."

An essay on Red Wing by Beatrice E. Fisk of the Central High School of that city won the first prize in the essay contest on the subject "My Home Town," recently conducted by the League of Minnesota Municipalities (see *ante*, p. 74). This interesting and well-written paper, which includes a brief sketch of the historical background of the town, is published in *Minnesota Municipalities* for April.

A chapter is added to the history of American sports by an article in the *Red Wing Daily Eagle* of February 2, which tells of the organization of the first Red Wing ski club in 1883 and of the first tournament, held the following year. These activities of the Norwegian residents of Red Wing are said to mark the beginning of "organized skiing" in America.

The Itasca County Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting at Grand Rapids on January 16.

Several of the recent articles in the local history series appearing in the *Montgomery Messenger* relate to early problems in local government. Among these is an account of the first village election, held in 1878, January 13; some pioneer village ordinances, January 27; and notes on some of the questions faced by the Montgomery board of trade in its early years, January 6 and March 9.

The story of a German aristocrat, Colonel Rudolph von Borgersrode, who was obliged to leave his native land after participating in the revolution of 1848 and who later made his home in Minnesota is outlined in one of a series of local history articles in the *Hutchinson Leader* for January 20. Colonel Borgersrode resided at various times at Shakopee and in McLeod and Meeker counties, and he served in the Civil War as a member of the Fourth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry. Some of the other articles in the series deal with the first public library at Hutchinson, January 13; Biscay, where the "first co-operative creamery in Minnesota was established" in 1889, February 10; and the Bohemian settlement at Silver Lake, February 3.

Mr. Burt W. Eaton of Rochester, an active worker in the Olmsted County Historical Society, has recently given a number of addresses before parent-teacher associations in Rochester in encouragement of the teaching of local and state history in the public schools. The grade supervisor of schools in that city has secured copies of T. C. Blegen's *Minnesota History: A Study Outline* for the use of grade teachers; and two teachers are at present working on a similar outline of the county's history, with Mr. Eaton's coöperation. Mr. Eaton has also carried his campaign for local and state history teaching to other towns in Olmsted county and he reports a growing interest in the subject.

An unusual publication was brought out in Rochester in 1927 under the title *History of the Rochester Old School Boys and Girls Association* (98 p.). This association, which grew out of a reunion of the "Old Boys of Rochester" in 1916, held meetings in 1921 and again in 1926, the last one bringing together more than thirteen hundred people. The published volume presents an illustrated account of these reunions and gives some of the speeches delivered at that of 1926. A brief history of the first school of Rochester, established in 1855, was given by Mr. Burt W. Eaton, and there were speeches by Dr. Charles Mayo, Bishop Lawler of South Dakota, Congressman Allen J. Furlow, Edwin H. Canfield of Luverne, Lieutenant Governor W. I. Nolan, Professor J. Paul Goode of the University of Chicago, Dr. William J. Mayo, and others, which are reported in detail. At the end of the volume is a sixty-five page list of "Old School Boys and Girls" of Rochester, with their present addresses. Among the "boys" one notes the name of the secretary of state, the Honorable Frank B. Kellogg.

A series of articles by Win V. Working dealing with the early history of some of the villages and townships in the vicinity of Fairfax has been appearing in the *Fairfax Standard*. It ends on March 22 with an account of "Pioneer Life in Ridgely Township."

Some of the activities of the city council of Shakopee seventy years ago are described in the *Shakopee Argus-Tribune* of January 26. It is interesting to note that in the late fifties one of the

town's largest bills was for the "improvement of the levee," since "steamboats were depended on chiefly for transportation of both freight and passengers."

Professor Krey's study of the connection between the old-world backgrounds and the Minnesota development of the Benedictine order, published in the September, 1927, issue of *MINNESOTA HISTORY*, is supplemented by an article on the Benedictine sisters which appears in the *Daily Journal-Press* of St. Cloud for February 8—an "Accomplishment Edition" published to mark the completion of the St. Cloud Hospital by the sisters. The growth of the St. Cloud community from a group of seven sisters who went there in 1857 and conducted a small boarding school to a community of more than nine hundred members is described, and the gradual extension of their work over a vast area—a characteristic emphasized by Professor Krey—is strikingly illustrated. The writer points out that "Besides conducting the College and Academy [at St. Joseph], at present the Sisters have seventy institutions under their charge. . . . Their work is spread over the dioceses of St. Cloud, Fargo, Bismarck, Seattle, LaCrosse, Superior, Crookston and the Archdiocese of St. Paul." Special histories of a number of the schools, hospitals, and other institutions founded by the sisters in the vicinity of St. Cloud also appear in this issue of the *Journal Press*.

A series of imaginary letters purporting to have been written by a student at St. Benedict's Academy, now the College of St. Benedict at St. Joseph, in 1882 and 1883 appears in the *St. Benedict's Quarterly* for February. The letters are based on "data gleaned from the archives" of the school, and the writer "endeavors to bring to light the every day life in a western boarding school or 'Female Academy' in the early eighties."

An interesting bit of local history is embodied in a pamphlet entitled *A Historical Sketch, Fair Haven, 1856*, by J. A. Vye, (St. Cloud, 1927. 6 p.), telling the story of a village on the Clearwater River in Stearns County.

The beginnings of the granite industry near St. Cloud in 1868 are described in "A Brief History of St. Cloud Granite District," published in the *Daily Journal-Press* of St. Cloud for March 7.

Historical sketches of three Watonwan County towns, Butterfield, Odin, and Darfur, are published in the issues of the *Butterfield Advocate* for February 16 and 23.

The Winona County Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting at Winona on February 22. In honor of the occasion the *Winona Republican-Herald* published a number of articles of special interest to members of the association, including "Little Stories of Pioneer Days in Winona" by Orrin F. Smith, and a list compiled by Paul Thompson of "persons living who came to Winona County up to and including the year 1854."

A short account of the history of Yellow Medicine County and of Canby by John Bowe, published in the *Canby News* of September 9, 1927, has been reprinted as a broadside.

A breezy sketch by Edith D. Williams of Minneapolis conditions in the middle eighties appears in the *Gopher-M* for January. It is based on contemporary newspaper advertisements.

An account of the growth of the office of the clerk of the district court of Hennepin County and sketches and portraits of the various men who have held that position since it was first filled by Sweet W. Case in the fifties appear in the *Minneapolis Journal* for March 23.

The seventy-first anniversary of the St. Anthony Turnverein, which was "organized January 24, 1857, at the home of George Wezel in what was then the village of St. Anthony," was celebrated by members of the society at their Minneapolis clubrooms on January 29.

Social life in pioneer St. Paul and the activities of the fur-trader on the Minnesota frontier are the chief subjects discussed in a series of seventeen articles by Julian Sargent published in the *St. Paul Dispatch* from January 4 to 23 and "based on letters in possession of the Minnesota Historical society, written in St. Paul from 1848 to 1862 by the Fuller brothers and sisters to their home in Connecticut" (see *ante*, 5: 63). Alpheus G. Fuller, the oldest of a family of nine, went to the Minnesota country

in 1848 for his health and became a trader. He soon was followed by other members of the family, the brothers joining him in the fur trade and the sisters establishing a home in St. Paul and entering into the social life of the frontier capital. The letters written to the relatives who remained in the East or who returned there after visiting in Minnesota are full of delightful gossip and give a vivid picture of conditions in the territory. That the life led by the Fullers was not altogether dull is shown by the following extract from a letter from Sarah, written in the height of the social season on January 16, 1853: "I really dissipated a good deal last week. Monday spent the evening at Dr. Borups. Tuesday at Mrs. Basses, Wednesday at Mazourka Hall, Thursday at a tableau party at Mr. Oakes." The Fullers also were doing their share of entertaining, for three days later Alpheus' wife wrote: "Yesterday we prepared for a company of thirty. I have now discharged nearly all my obligations to my St. Paul friends, they were all married people. I am going to invite the unmarried ones for the girls Friday eve." The women's letters also tell of such matters as "receiving Friendship books as philopena presents; of delaines and bombazines; of 'pleasant little mobs' at Governor Ramsey's; of brilliant parties at Fort Snelling; of going 'a strawberrying' with Mrs. Selby in her buggy 'round opposite Mendota'; of receiving 40 calls of a New Year's, 'not as many as we had last year' . . . of gossiped betrothals linking names now familiar on lamp posts"; and of a trip up the Minnesota River to a town site owned jointly by David Fuller and Thomas A. Holmes. The Fuller men were not such prolific letter writers as their sisters, but when they did send letters to Connecticut they told of log trading posts; of seeing rattlesnakes, wolves, and buffaloes; of attending Indian payments; and of shipping furs back east. Some of the later letters are from Abby Fuller, who married Samuel B. Abbe at St. Paul in 1858 and two years later went to live at Crow Wing. From their home there the Abbes fled to Fort Ripley in 1862 when it seemed likely that the Chippewa would join the Sioux in the uprising of that year, and when that danger was past they returned to St. Paul. The last letter published is dated at Fort Ripley on August 25, 1862.

The history of the little log chapel which gave St. Paul its name is briefly reviewed in the *Catholic Bulletin* of St. Paul for March 10. Of special interest is the account of its use in the fifties as a school and hospital by the Sisters of St. Joseph. Attention is called to the fact that the site of the chapel has been recently purchased by the city of St. Paul and that plans are under way for the appropriate marking of the spot.

*A Brief History of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church, Saint Paul, Minnesota, 1886-1926* (45 p.) presents in attractive form the record of a church that has its roots in the "free religious movements" in Sweden of the early eighties.

Reminiscences of the Clinton Avenue Methodist Church of West St. Paul by S. W. Boyd of Denver, Colorado, a former member of the congregation, appear in the *West St. Paul Times* for February 25 and March 3.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the Union Gospel Mission of St. Paul is the occasion for the publication of histories of the mission in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for March 23 and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for March 28.

